This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

600062230J

270 c. 297

A. L. 1655
2

THE

PAPERS OF A CRITIC.

THE

PAPERS OF A CRITIC.

SELECTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE LATE

CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH BY HIS GRANDSON,

SIR CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, BART., M.P.,

AUTHOR OF
"GREATER BRITAIN," AND OF "THE FALL OF PRINCE FLORESTAN OF MONACO."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1875.

270. e. 297.

LONDON:
BRADBURY, AGNEW, & CO., PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PAGE

JUNIUS 1

WILKES 229

GRENVILLE, &c. 281

BURKE 309

THE

PAPERS OF A CRITIC.

thus previously adverted to by Hamilton did actually make its appearance." *Junius*, edit. 1812.

Here, then, be two Antipholus', two Dromio's, two Junius'! The difference is this, that in Hamilton's case the betrayal of the secret was unintentional; whereas, if Barré were Junius, and if Shelburne and Dunning knew it, the statement could only have been made for the purpose of letting the Doctor into that secret which they were so anxious to conceal from all other persons. Such a supposition is obviously absurd. We must, therefore, believe that the Doctor mistook a conjectural probability—a mere speculative opinion—for the assertion of a fact: —and, in that case, the inferences would be all the other way.

It is strange that the probability of this never once suggested itself to Mr. Britton—still more strange that in the fifty years which have since elapsed he never thought of consulting the *Public Advertiser* to ascertain whether any such "note by the printer" does precede any such letter by Junius. We know of course, that Junius loved to have a trumpet sounded before him. His own directions are—"Advertise a Junius for Monday"—"Advertise Junius to another Duke in our next:" —but these are wholly different in character from the "Note" and the letter referred to.

Mr. Britton informs us that he has bestowed a great deal of labour on this work; not altogether, we fear, to his own satisfaction. Years since he announced that he was prepared to offer *proofs:* he now more modestly submits that he has "established a strong case" in favour of Colonel Barré; and of the high probability that Lord Shelburne and Dunning gave advice and information—and that Greatrakes was the amanuensis employed.

Now, so far as Barré is concerned, and treating the question as one of probabilities, the conjecture is as reasonable as any of the other guesses at the authorship of Junius. A private letter from Barré to Chatham, quoted by Mr. Britton, is very much in the Junius style—just such a letter as Junius would have written under the circumstances; and Mr. Britton supports the general arguments by numberless minute facts which are curious and interesting. But as to *proof*, he acknowledges

that he has laboured "in the hope of attaining that species of evidence which would neither be controverted nor doubted, but *has failed* to find unequivocal proofs." Short of this he has done well:—and he might have done better, saved himself a great deal of trouble, and wonderfully simplified the argument, if he had not taken on trust so many improbabilities about Junius.

Of course, if Barré were the writer it is likely enough that Shelburne and Dunning gave him all the aid in their power. There is nothing new in Britton's conjecture. So early as Dec. 29th, 1770, a letter was published in the *Morning Chronicle*, addressed to the Earl of Shelburne, which begins, —"Your lordship will hardly think there is a man in England who does not believe you to be the author of those Letters which are signed Junius. * * * Mr. Dunning and that arch-fiend Col. Barré, will perhaps claim the honour of writing those letters; but, my lord, they are to be looked upon in the same light as the carpenter and mason employed by Sir Christopher Wren." Great stress, however, must not be laid on the information and assistance of Shelburne; for his wife died on the 5th of January, 1771, and if we be not mistaken he shortly after went abroad. Shelburne went on a visit to Alderman Townshend at Bruce Castle, Tottenham, and dates a letter from there to Chatham on 25th Feb. 1771. Chatham, in reply, speaks of "our worthy warm friend, your landlord." On 25th April he writes from Shelburne House to Chatham—"I have given the necessary orders for my journey, and hope to be gone in the course of next week." He was not gone on April 30th, as there is a letter of that date; but it is the last in the Chat. Corr. until Jan. 12, 1772, dated Bowood, from which he appears to have just returned—or returned very lately. Shelburne was also abroad in 1770, and returned in September of that year. See Chat. Corr. iii. 471. As to the amanuensis story, it is a mere assumption to assert that an amanuensis was employed at all:—and as to Greatrakes, not a word is added to what was already known. If the inscription on this monument, "*Stat nominis umbra*," have any meaning in reference to this subject, it would follow that

600062230J

270 c. 297

A. L. 1655/2

THE

PAPERS OF A CRITIC.

one hundred of those letters had never before, as we have said, appeared amongst the writings of Junius.

When thus suddenly called on to receive as authentic one hundred additional letters by Junius—one hundred as an addition to sixty!—we ought to pause and consider the character of the man and of his writings. We know, if indeed we know or are to believe anything about Junius, that he was a careful and laborious writer. He says distinctly to Sampson Woodfall more than once, "I weigh every word"—"the enclosed has been greatly laboured." In a private note to Wilkes he thus writes,—"The pains I took with that paper on Privilege were greater than I can express to you. Yet after I had blinded myself with poring over journals, debates, and parliamentary history, &c., &c." Again in November, 1771, "I am overcome with the slavery of writing." Within six months of the first publication of a "Junius" he was weary of the labour. In a private note to Sampson Woodfall (21st of July, 1769) he says, "I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes," &c. In his letter to Horne Tooke he says, "Is there no honourable way to serve the public without engaging in personal quarrels with insignificant individuals, or submitting to the drudgery of canvassing votes for an election? Is there no merit in dedicating my life to the information of my fellow-subjects? What public question have I declined; what villain have I spared? *Is there no labour in the composition of these letters?* Mr. Horne, I fear, is partial to me, and measures the facility of my writings by the fluency of his own." Now, when it is remembered that some of the Letters of Junius would have made respectable pamphlets—that he recommended one or more to be published as pamphlets if there were objections to their appearing in the *Advertiser*—that they were continued for three years, at the rate, on an average, of three in two months, to say nothing of paragraphs of news, &c.—it seems to us a reasonable labour for an unknown and unpaid contributor; and we may add that our experience, literary or political, knows nothing like it. Junius indeed never failed to

recur to his *labours*, and when he took leave for ever in his Dedication, he thus wrote, "If an honest, and, I *may truly affirm*, a *laborious* zeal for the public service has given me any weight in your esteem;" and the public whom he addressed could know nothing of his labours except and so far as they were manifest in his Letters.

But observe:—according to Dr. Good this was all idle talk; for Junius had before 1769 been accustomed to write, four, five, six, and even seven letters a month in the *Advertiser!* Indeed, we are expected to believe that between the 19th of July and the 26th of September, 1768, he wrote no less than *sixteen* published letters, all of which are to be found in the edition of 1812.

In a private note to Woodfall (8th November, 1769) Junius requests him to *re*publish a letter from the *London Evening Post*. On the 16th, Junius suggests that as, in consequence of the republication, the letter had been attributed to him, Woodfall had better contradict the report; and he adds, *I sometimes change my signature*, but could have no reason to change the paper." Now, as we have already said, as Sampson Woodfall must have known at least as much as Dr. Good, this intimation about his "*sometimes*" changing his signature must, on Good's assumption, have been ridiculous; for Woodfall must have known that Junius wrote under no less than *six* different signatures in one month. Thus, between the 23rd of July and the 23rd of August, 1768 we have letters attributed to Junius, signed 'C.' 'L. S.' 'Anonymous,' 'Lucius,' 'Atticus,' and 'Valerius!' We know that, simultaneously with the publication of Junius, the writer did "sometimes" change his signature. We know it not only on the above authority, but because letters published under other signatures were acknowledged by Junius and introduced into the edition of 1772. We know, indeed, that he must have done so for reasons which he himself has given.

If, however, Dr. Good be right—if Junius did write the *fifty letters* (!) which have been selected from the *Advertiser* and all dated *before* 'Junius' appeared—we should like to have some reasons given why they or part of them were not included

in the edition of 1772 published by Sampson Woodfall. If we take Good's estimate, many are not inferior to the writings signed Junius. "The manner, the phraseology, the sarcastic, exprobratory style sufficiently identify them:"—and it is no objection, says Good, to their genuineness, that they were omitted by Junius in his own edition; there is a material difference between printing a complete edition of the Letters of Junius, and a complete edition of the letters that appeared under his name." Admitted—but the argument is not here of force. Junius was very anxious to include all that he thought would do him credit. All the letters of Philo-Junius were added:—letters which had appeared in the *Advertiser* signed 'Recens' and 'Moderatus' were introduced. "Prevail upon Mr. Wilkes," he writes to Woodfall (November 10, 1771), "to let you have extracts of my second and third [private] letters to him. It will make the book still more new." Again (December 10, 1771), "The enclosed completes all the materials that I can give you. I have done *my* part. Take care *you* do yours. There are still *two* letters wanting, which *I expect you will not fail* to insert in their places. [The passage is underlined by Junius.] They must be [must have been published] in October." These two letters were inserted. Now, coupling this anxiety about these two letters and his declaration, "the enclosed complete all the materials that I can give you," with his manifest wish to add anything to the volumes that would be new, or seem so (new as the acknowledged writings of Junius), surely he would have enriched the collection by a selection, at least, from the letters which he had written prior to the publication of the first 'Junius.' The reasons given by Good to the contrary are, not to say it offensively, untrue. Thus, we are told that the plan of publication resolved on was to include all letters under the signature of Junius *and Philo Junius*, to be occasionally enriched by a selection of *other* letters "*under a variety of signatures;*" but "*instead* of introducing the explanatory letters, written under other signatures, he confined himself, *in order that the work might be published before the ensuing session of Parliament*, to three justificatory papers alone." Now, what are the facts?

When the proposition was first made to him, Junius answers (July 21, 1769), "I can have no manner of objection to your reprinting the letters,"—meaning the letters of Junius which had been pirated by Newberry: and he adds, "If you determine to do it, give me a hint and I will send you more errata, and perhaps a preface." On the 16th of August, 1769, he writes "Do with my letters [the Junius letters] exactly what you please. *I should think that to make a better figure* than Newberry *some other of my letters may be added,* and so throw out a hint that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan, I shall point out those which I could recommend; for you know I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all." What more obvious or legitimate inference than those "other" letters were the letters signed 'Philo Junius,' 'Recens,' 'Your Undoubted Friend,'—and perhaps others published simultaneously with the letters of Junius, and in aid of the cause:—and we find that when, more than two years after, the letters were collected, the edition up to the date of that private letter (16th of August) contains *thirteen* letters by Junius, and *five* by Philo-Junius and Recens—an addition (5 to 13) with a Preface, sufficient to enable Woodfall to make the "better figure." This mis-statement—that the original intention was to "include all letters under the signature of Junius *and Philo-Junius,*" enriched by *a selection* of '*other letters*'—however trifling it may appear, has this important consequence—the "other of my letters" is thus left free and made to include any or all the letters introduced by Good into the edition of 1812.

As to the hurry of publication, it is altogether a mistake so far as Junius was concerned. On the 10th of December 1771, Junius, as we have shown, had sent to Woodfall all the materials he could give him. On the 17th of December he assumes the work to be so far in advance, that he recommends Woodfall *to defer* the publication—"I think you ought not to publish before the second week in January." Here is proof that so far as Junius was concerned he had abundance of time and to spare. It is quite true that on the 18th of January he expresses surprise and impatience at the delay in the pub-

lication; and he proposes—and *this is all* he proposes—to omit the long letter to Mansfield—(*which had not at that date even appeared in the Advertiser*) if the insertion of it in the collected edition would occasion a delay of more than two days—that is, beyond the opening of Parliament.

Let us, however, for the purposes of the argument take Dr. Good's view of the question,—and assume that Junius did intend to introduce some of those letters, the letters of Atticus and others which Good says are every way worthy of Junius. Why then were they not introduced? and is it not passing strange that Junius should never once, in his private letters to Woodfall, have named them,—never once, in the most distant manner, have alluded to any one of these fifty letters? no, not even when referring to the additions to a second edition,—which he contemplated, and for which he says the letter to Mansfield may be reserved? We must remember, too, that the first proposal respecting a collected edition was made two years before the edition itself was published! There was no hurry *then*. We have shown that so far as Junius was concerned there was no hurry at any time,—but there could, at any rate, have been no hurry in August, 1769. If he ever wanted them it was in August, 1769; when only thirteen letters by Junius had been published, and when he was anxious to make a better figure than Newberry, and was seeking for unconsidered trifles. There was no greater or other objection than held good against the introduction of the letters of 'Recens,' 'Moderatus,' &c.—which he did introduce, even when the letters of Junius had become of twice or three times the bulk, and therefore made a figure of themselves.

The point which we wish to establish is, that what Good calls *proof* is mere speculative opinion,—set forth indeed with such confidence that the reader is fairly imposed on: and that if Good's assertions had not been strengthened in public estimation by the private letters which he was enabled to introduce into the edition of 1812, and if that edition had not been associated with the name of Woodfall, his opinions would have passed for no more than they are worth,—and Mr. Britton and his "judicious friends" would have thought it right to have insti-

tuted some inquiry before they received them as authentic.—This we hope to be enabled to do in a future article.

Second Notice, 29 July, 1848.

THE general question respecting the fifty letters published before January, 1769, which are attributed by Dr. Good to Junius, and which were first heard of in the edition of 1812, we have already disposed of; and it must be manifest to any one who will look critically into his 'Preliminary Essay' that the Doctor merely turned over the leaves of the *Public Advertiser*,—whether with or without the aid of Mr. George Woodfall does not signify,—and in the confidence of an infallible judgment, selected what letters he pleased and published them as by Junius. We shall now look a little more critically into the collection.

In the very first page of the 'Preliminary Essay,' as we have shown, the question of authenticity is assumed,—and forthwith and thenceforth all goes merry as a marriage bell. We are told that Junius can be clearly recognized under the masks of 'Poplicola,' 'Domitian,' 'Vindex,'—that "the most popular of our author's letters were those subscribed Atticus and Lucius; to the former of which [the latter would be more probable] the few letters signed Brutus seem to have been little more than auxiliary." Then Dr. Good talks about "*our author's letters* signed 'Mnemon';" and the proofs of their having been written by Junius are said to be "incontestable,"—"the manner, the phraseology, the sarcastic, exprobratory style, independent of any other evidence, sufficiently identify them." Brave words these! But surely such mere assertions are not to pass as proofs? We say—and our opinion is of as much worth as Dr. Good's, and no more—that there is no proof—nay, no ground to justify even such a speculation—that Junius wrote a line of any one of these fifty letters: no, nor of others which Dr. Good was pleased on the faith of his judgment in exprobratory and other styles, to attribute to him. But though we have undertaken the tedious labour of proving this, is it not strange that we should be called on to do so—called on to substantiate fifty negatives?—and that Dr. Good's mere

assertions are to be received as conclusive unless some one can prove that he was in error.

As to the question of "style," with all deference to Dr. Good, we have no absolute faith either in his judgment or in our own,—seeing how blindly others have stumbled. Every age has its style—its style of writing and of handwriting. As we said before, there have been some thirty different persons fixed on as the writer of 'Junius's Letters,'—thirty persons, therefore, whose "style," (as well as handwriting) in the opinion of some one or other, or of many, was the style of Junius. Twenty-nine of those—good, confident critics—must have been wrongly assigned—perhaps the whole thirty!

But let us now proceed to examine the "evidence" and the "analogies":—and, that we may do so formally, we will begin at the beginning.

"*It was,*" says Dr. Good, "*on the 28th of April in the year* 1767 that the late Mr. Sampson Woodfall received, *amidst other letters from a great number of correspondents,* for the use of the *Public Advertiser,* of which he was a proprietor, the first public address of this celebrated writer. He had not then assumed the name, or rather written under the signature, of Junius."

Can any account be more circumstantial? Error would seem to be impossible. Dr. Good must have been present at the breaking of the seal. The minute touches prove that the picture is from life. Yet, unfortunately, if all else be true, this could not have happened on the 28th of April, because the letter was *published* on that day. This, it may be said, is a point of little importance. Of not the least importance, except in proof that the 'Preliminary Essay' is a piece of pure imaginative writing,—and that Dr. Good could, and did, set down the minutest facts and circumstances without the slightest authority. This detailed story was simply to justify his conjecture that the letters of 'Poplicola' were written by Junius. He seems never to have supposed that a question would be asked. The Woodfall name and the private letters were assumed as authority enough for anything:—and to this

hour his daring has been justified by the event. So much for authority!—We will now try the "analogies."

Junius had no great personal liking for Lord Chatham—but he touched on his errors tenderly, progressively warmed towards, and at last spoke well of him. Of Lord Camden he had the very highest opinion. The last letter under the signature of 'Junius' was addressed to him. "It possesses," says Good, "the peculiarity of being the only encomiastic letter that ever fell from his pen under the signature of 'Junius.' There is sufficient evidence in his private letters that Junius had a very high as well as a very just opinion of the integrity of this nobleman, and an evident desire that the estimate he had formed of his integrity should be known to the world at large." Well, then, does "analogy" help us to fix the letters of 'Poplicola' on Junius? Why, the exclusive subject of those letters is fierce, coarse, and virulent abuse of Lords Chatham and Camden! Camden, whom Junius thought so highly of, Poplicola describes as "an apostate lawyer, weak enough to sacrifice his own character, and base enough to betray the laws of his country." It was on *such* "analogies" that Good assumed Junius and Poplicola to be the same writer! Another circumstance, trifling in itself, is entitled to consideration. Some twenty months after the publication of these letters by 'Poplicola' appeared the first 'Junius'; and forthwith it was replied to by Sir William Draper. Hence the controversy so well known. Now, whoever reads attentively the answers of Junius will see that he is apparently unaware that Draper had ever before appeared in print. Junius tells him sarcastically that this defence of his friend does honour to his heart. "In any other cause I doubt not you would have cautiously weighed the consequences of committing your name to the licentious discourses and malignant opinions of the world. But here I suppose you thought it would be a breach of friendship to lose one moment in consulting your understanding." Now, it happens, curiously enough, that if Junius were the writer of the letters signed 'Poplicola,' he in the second of those had attacked Sir William Draper for a letter in which Draper had defended Lord Chatham against Wilkes. This fact being

known to Junius,—as it was professedly to Dr. Good,—we cannot but believe that it would have peeped out, and that the satire of Junius would have taken a different direction.

Then follow (with more commonplace abuse of Chatham) 'Anti-Sejanus Jun.,' and 'A Faithful Monitor':—of these Good says *nothing*. He simply inserts them. 'Corregio' comes next.

The letters of 'Corregio' and the papers on "The Grand Council" are attributed to Junius on what Dr. Good calls evidence. The following answer, he says, to correspondence in the *Public Advertiser* of September 16 [1767] *identifies* Junius to have been the writer of the letter signed 'Corregio.'

"Our correspondent C. will observe that we have obeyed his directions in every particular, and we shall always pay the utmost attention to whatever comes from so masterly a pen!"

The reader will naturally ask, how does this identify Junius as the writer? Junius was then unknown. His *first* letter did not appear for sixteen or seventeen months after this. His *first* private note is dated twenty months later;—but then, says Dr. Good, it is signed 'C'! Hence the "identification;"—as if no two persons could sign notes with the same initial letter,—as if it were not just 25 to 1, and no more, against any person, signing with an initial letter not his own, choosing the letter C. Then there is the C. [Candor] of 1764. The only notice to correspondents at the close of the first volume of the *Critical Review*, 1756, is this:—"N.B.—The letter signed *C.* came to hand, and shall be answered so soon as understood." Again, at the end of the number for January, 1759: "The reviewer returns thanks to those obliging correspondents A. M. and *C.* for their obliging hints and friendly admonitions. What the latter gentleman mentions he will perceive to be done in the fifth and sixth volumes." In the *Oxford Magazine*, March, 1769, p. 112, "C.'s Poem" is acknowledged, and it was published in April, and dated, "Devon, March 14," p. 152, it is an extempore of four lines! But in the same May, p. 150, is "An Epistle

to Sir William Draper," called 'The Political Scape-Goat,' a clever satire of 150 lines. But the obvious and natural inference in this case is that 'Corregio' signed his private note C.,—or the printer addressed him by the initial letter of his assumed name, which under the circumstance of the letter appearing in the same day's paper an editor would do as a matter of course. It was significant and intelligible to the writer—not to readers generally. Then, as to the "analogies" and "style." It appears to us that in tone, temper, style, policy, principles, party views, prejudices, likings and dislikings, the writings of Corregio and those on "The Great Council" differ absolutely from the known writings of Junius. Some traces, perhaps, of Wilkes's style may be discovered,—and Wilkes often attacked Shelburne and Shelburne's friends; which, by-the-bye, Junius subsequently, in his private letters, objected against him. The following may be thought to have the same mint stamp on them. "A single line of his face will be sufficient to give us the heir-apparent of Loyola and all his college,—a perfect Malagrida." So says 'Corregio'; and Wilkes in his letter to Horne thus writes:—"Had your turn, Sir, been to divinity, in the subtleties of the schools you would have outshone Thomas Aquinas or Duns Scotus, in treachery even the priest Malagrida." So, in "The Grand Council" Sulky appears in "an attitude from Mr. Sparks;" and Sparks's attitude had been sketched by Wilkes's friend, Churchill:—

> Sparks at his glass sinks comfortably down,
> To separate frown from smile and smile from frown.*

We have too "bull-dog" illustrations in both.† Here is more evidence in favour of Wilkes than can be adduced in favour of Junius; but we do not, therefore, assert, after the Good fashion,

* See Anecdote of Sparks in Bellamy's Apology, iii. 29, 87, &c., but of no use here. Sparks was not only a comedian, but a teacher either of elocution or of actors. He died at Brentford, Jan. 7, 1769, and desired in his will to be buried by the Rev^{d}. J. Horne [Tooke, then 'Parson of Brentford']. Note to Letters of West Digges, p. 18.

† See Wilkes' 'Sketch of City Politics,' Letters, ii. 219, for his opinion of Shelburne and his 'blood-hound' Barré.

that these letters were "incontestably" or "indisputably" written by Wilkes. We have merely referred to passages of similarity which struck us at the moment;—and should ourselves require far more and better evidence before we could decide on their parentage.

We cannot, of course, go through the whole hundred letters after this minute and tedious fashion.—Without better, or indeed other, evidence follow letters by 'Moderator,' 'Y. Z.,' 'Downright,' — a mere paragraph abusing Chatham, — 'Mnemon,' 'Anti-Stuart,' 'C.,' 'Q. in the Corner,' 'Bifrons,' 'Valerius,' 'Fiat Justitia,' 'Pomona,' 'L. L.,' 'Lucius,' 'Atticus,' 'Brutus,' 'Why?'

The letter by 'C.' is a furious "King and Constitution" tirade against the Ministry for permitting Wilkes to return to England! "A man," says the writer, "of most infamous character in private life, is indicted for a libel against the King's person" —"our gracious Sovereign"—tried and found guilty—and, to avoid the sentence due to his crime, flies the country, and is outlawed. Yet he returns with as little fear of the laws as of respect for the great person whom he had so treasonably attacked; without a single qualification, moral or political, presumes so far upon the protection of the populace as to offer himself as a candidate for the metropolis of the kingdom—then for the metropolitan county, in which he has not a single foot of land; and we see this man, overwhelmed with debts, "a convict and an outlaw, returned to serve in the British Parliament."—Is the analogy to be found in the known and acknowledged writings of Junius—or in the first letter which according to Dr. Good he wrote under that signature; the sole purpose of which is to attack the Ministry for their disgraceful neglect of Wilkes? He therein tells the public that "there is scarce an instance of party merit so great as his," towards whom "all ties of honour, professions of friendship, and obligations of party have been violated or betrayed."—and these letters were written within seven months of each other! So much for the analogies"!

The confidence with which Dr. Good writes is quite startling. "The name of Mnemon," he says, "was, perhaps, taken up at

hazard. That of Atticus was *unquestionably* (!) assumed from the author's own opinion of the purity of his style." "The proofs that the letters of 'Atticus' were written by Junius are incontestable." Brave words again!—but again we ask what are they but words? Why, Good himself may be called as evidence against 'Atticus,'—not as certain, but at least as offering something more certain than can be produced on the other side. In 1772 and 1773 "some very excellent letters," says Dr. Good, "signed 'Atticus,' appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, and exhibit much of our author's style, spirit, and sentiments; and which hence, by tolerable judges, have been actually ascribed to him." As Good, however, happened to have amongst the private letters (19th of January, 1773) one which proved that Junius was not the writer of the letters signed 'Atticus' of 1772, he could not venture to include them in his edition; but he stuck, nevertheless, to the letters by 'Atticus' of 1768, although he has produced no evidence stronger than his opinion of "style, spirit, and sentiments" for attributing these to Junius.

Then, as to the letters of 'Lucius' and 'Brutus,'—Dr. Good says that the "sarcastic remark of Lucius" upon an observation by the Duke of Grafton "is entitled to attention, as *identifying him* with Junius in his peculiar severity of reproach!"—and as to the letters of Brutus, they are "incontestable." Further, however, he tells us that the letters of 'Brutus' are mere auxiliaries to the letters of 'Atticus' and 'Lucius.' Well, then, the private letter of Junius to Woodfall of the 21st of February, 1771, is good evidence that he did not write the letter of 'Brutus' published on that day in the *Advertiser*. Good admits this by not republishing it except in a note. Are we, then, without one word of evidence to assume such an extreme improbability as that the other letters signed 'Brutus' are by Junius? If not,—and if these letters be, as Good states, merely auxiliary—here is further evidence against 'Atticus'; and away go 'Atticus,' 'Lucius,' and 'Brutus'!

Good almost apologizes for the many letters which he has introduced: but the object he tells us was "a complete edition

of the letters of Junius,"—and it would be inconsistent with that object "to *suppress* any of his letters, under what signature soever they may have appeared, that possess sufficient interest to excite the attention of the public." Who from this would not suppose that Good was in possession of a collection of letters by Junius—known to be by Junius—from which he had made a selection, only omitting such as were wanting in public interest?

Dr. Good knows everything—to the minutest trifle—affecting the motives and feelings of Junius. Thus, having assumed without reason or question that 'Junius' was 'Atticus,' he sees at a glance why he dropped the name of 'Atticus' and took another. "The subject being of a different description from that he had engaged in under the signature of 'Atticus,' he assumed a new name, and for the first time sallied forth under that of 'Lucius.'" Unfortunately, Dr. Good, though very confident, is apt to stumble; and it happens that the letters of 'Lucius' preceded those by 'Atticus'—the first 'Lucius' being published on the 10th, and the first 'Atticus' on the 19th, of August, 1768. This fact, again, is of no consequence, except as adding further proof of the boldness with which Dr. Good made assertions.

So much for *the fifty letters* published before January, 1769—before the first letters of Junius; and by which alone nineteen-twentieths of all the abuse that has been poured out on Junius is to be justified!

The evidence required as respects the letters published before Junius appeared is altogether different from that which relates to letters published contemporaneously and subsequently. We know that Junius contributed other letters to the *Advertiser*; some of which he acknowledged, and they were reproduced in the edition of 1772. We do not know, nor is there one word of evidence to show, that he wrote a single line in that paper before the publication in January, 1769, of the first 'Junius'; and it tends to confirm our impression that he did not, that the earliest private note is dated the 20th of April, 1769, four months later than the first 'Junius.' As we have before remarked, there is not the

slightest reference to any previous contribution in all the private notes which refer to the proposed collection of his writings!

Of the letters written by Junius in the year 1769, and which were not reproduced in the edition of 1772, two by Junius must of course pass unquestioned. The one was in answer to Junia—and omitted, according to his private note because it was "idle and improper"; the other was an unconsidered trifle, serving the purpose of the hour, but not worthy to be republished. The letter by 'Moderatus' Junius adopted: and the private note and the date are in favour of the authenticity of 'Your Real Friend.' But what are we to say of the letters of 'Simplex'—'Amicus Curiæ'—and 'Augur'? That the first and second are mere blind guesses: while as to 'Augur' the evidence is accidentally strong and clear that he did not write it—and the reader should bear in mind that such evidence must necessarily be rare and exceptional. On the 10th of September Junius thus writes privately to Woodfall:—"*The last letter* you *printed* was idle and improper." This, it is admitted, was the reply to Junia, *published on the 7th.* How, then, could Good assert that Junius wrote the letter signed 'Augur,' which *was published on the 8th of September?*

We are required to believe on the sole authority of Dr. Good, and of his "intimate knowledge of the author's style," that Junius was accustomed to write five or six letters in a month, under *different signatures* before 1768—although when we arrive at the undoubted Junius we find that in twelve months he wrote some thirty letters, and with the exception of two, and those merely trifling by-play letters, all under the signature of 'Junius' or 'Philo-Junius.' Is this another of the "analogies"? But Dr. Good goes even further on this point,—and in so doing betrays the source whence only these letters were taken and the authority on which alone they are affiliated. "No man," he says, "but he who, with a thorough knowledge of the author's style, *undertakes to examine all the numbers of the Public Advertiser* can have any idea of the immense fatigue and trouble he submitted to in composing other letters, under

other signatures, *in order to support the pre-eminent pretensions and character of Junius.*" Indeed! why, Dr. Good had but just before told us, that it would be inconsistent with the idea of publishing, as he proposed, a complete edition, "to suppress any of his letters *under what signature soever they may have appeared* that possess sufficient interest to excite the attention of the public." We need not, therefore, undertake to examine the *Public Advertiser*—we have them all in the three octavo volumes; and they amount we say to two in twelve months! Was this an "immense fatigue" to a man who according to Good's statement wrote sixteen letters in two months?

Why the letters signed 'A. B.,' 'Y. Y.,' 'Modestus' are introduced amongst the 'Miscellaneous Letters of Junius,' passes all comprehension. The letters of 'Modestus,' it is admitted by Dr. Good, were written by Mr. Dalrymple. The letter of 'A. B.,' Good says, is "avowedly *not* from the pen of Junius:"—indeed, Junius distinctly told Woodfall to say so publicly in the *Advertiser*. "I do not choose," he writes, "to answer for anybody's sins but my own." 'Messala,' who follows, simply wrote a reply to 'A. B.,' to withhold which, says Good, "would be an act of injustice"—why we cannot conceive. But having given this reply of 'Messala' to 'A. B.' and another to 'X. X.' by 'Y. Y.,' why was not the rejoinder by 'A. B.' published? Because, says Good, "it decidedly was not written by Junius." Then, why publish the first 'A. B.'? —This is a mystery, or a mystification, which we must leave to the skilful to elucidate.

As to the letters signed 'X. X.' they may or may not have been written by Junius:—there is little of evidence one way or the other. The principles and views therein advocated are the same as those advocated by Junius—and they may have been written "to defend or explain particular passages in Junius, in answer to plausible objections." 'Modestus' directly asserts that Junius was the writer; but 'Modestus' is no better authority than Dr. Good. Under any circumstances, Junius may take the responsibility without leaving Horne the "colourable" pretext. But the probabilities are against the parentage. The first of the letters of 'X. X.' is printed in the 'Wilkes

Correspondence.' If this were written by Wilkes, then, of course all were written by Wilkes. The writer, too, *if* Junius, was "guilty of the indecorum" which Junius says his auxiliary writings are free from—"of praising the principal." And why, if these letters were written by Junius, were they not included in the edition of 1772, after Junius's stringent directions to Woodfall, "Let all *my* papers in defence of Junius be inserted;" the "my" being by Junius himself underlined to make it emphatic? The letters of 'Juniper'—'Anti-Belial,' and many others, are of the same class and character—in defence of Junius: but not therefore necessarily *by* Junius. Junius's own direction just quoted is against this supposition: —and nothing has been adduced on the other side.

A letter by 'Domitian' is said to be referred to by Junius in a private note of the 7th of December 1770; and, coupled with other circumstances—amongst these his private note of the 22nd of February 1772—the evidence appears sufficient. Let 'Domitian,' therefore, be received as by Junius. 'Testiculus' may also be allowed, on the inconclusive memorandum on private note and date of publication:—and if so 'Testis' claims protection. Two short notes by 'Vindex' may be received on like authority. Of 'Cumbriensis' Good says, "this letter is acknowledged by Junius." Not so:—Junius merely observes in a note to Woodfall, "Cumbriensis has taken greatly." Why he might not say thus much of any letter which had appeared in the *Public Advertiser* we are at a loss to understand:—but let 'Cumbriensis' pass—and 'Scotus'—and 'Nemesis.' We may, however, observe with respect to the letter signed 'Testiculus' and to others, that Dr. Good assumes much too readily that any acknowledgment by the printer, such as "C. received," or any request from Junius, such as "insert the accompanying to-morrow if possible," necessarily referred to *a letter*, and warranted the transference into the collection of any letter which Good might chance to find published on the following morning. We know that Junius was in the habit of sending paragraphs of news; paragraphs of all sorts—sailing of the Fleet the 16th of January, 1771—opening the doors of Parliament the 31st of January, 1771—in

proof. The letters of 'Veteran' are beyond mistake or dispute; but, be it remembered, they were written after Junius had retired—and when, as he states to Woodfall, having "nothing better to do, he proposed" in this way "to entertain himself and the public."

We have not yet got through all the—we were about to say apocryphal—letters; but, in truth, they are not letters inserted on authority merely doubtful, but inserted without authority at all. Not one word we believe can be said in favour of the letters signed—'A Labourer in the same Cause'—'The Chapters of Facts'—'Phalaris'—'Intelligence Extraordinary'—'Anti-W.'—'A Member'—'An Englishman'—'An Innocent Reader'—'Anti-Fox'—'Anti-Belial'—'Arthur Tell Truth.' We have doubts, indeed, whether Good meant it to be inferred that all these letters were by Junius; but we cannot waste more time in hunting out for some scattered note that might throw a light on the question why they were inserted. As to the letters signed 'G. W.' Dr. Good, for the first time we believe, admits that he has some doubts; which is modest—and misleading, for it might *hence* be inferred that there was *no doubt* about the *other* letters attributed to Junius.

The letter of 'A Whig' is inserted, says Good, because Junius quoted from it in the notes to his collected letters. Why, he quoted from 'Blackstone's Commentaries'—but Dr. Good does not therefore assume that he wrote these. It is probable that Junius did write that letter: but why not leave it as a question of probability to be decided by the reader? It is not certain that he wrote it; and it was only some six months before that Junius said to Woodfall rather angrily—"By your affected silence you encourage an idle opinion that I am the author of the Whig," &c. It does not follow, we admit, that the same letter or writer is referred to:—but here is a difficulty that ought to have been cleared up.

About 'Henricus' there is less doubt. It is dated 7th March, but was not published until the 15th April. By way of apology, the printer states that it had been mislaid. This was not likely to have occurred with a genuine letter by Junius.

The inference from the few facts really bearing on the ques-

tion is, that the edition of 1772 contained nearly all the letters which Junius had contributed to the *Public Advertiser* up to the 21st January, 1772—the few omitted being of very little value.

Here we shall conclude so far as the letters inserted in the edition of 1812, and so unhesitatingly attributed to Junius, are concerned. We make no pretension to infallibility in this matter. We have not had time sufficient to test every assertion with the required care; and it is very possible that we may have overlooked some remote and shadowy evidence in respect to particular letters. Be that as it may, we have brought together such an aggregate of facts as cannot be overturned by accidental or incidental error—such proofs of Dr. Good's temerity in the way of assertion as must shake all confidence in the 'Preliminary Essay' and the letters introduced on the strength of his mere judgment into the edition of 1812 and fathered on Junius. We hope, therefore, never again to hear the character of Junius traduced and calumniated on the strength of the letters which Good has been pleased to attribute to him. These have been added for the most part, as we have shown, without authority, without probability—and sometimes in direct defiance of facts; and they have left us a Junius who is a moral monster, by whom we can prove anything.

Before we take a final leave of the subject, let us say a few more words of warning to others as well as Mr. Britton against putting implicit confidence in anything to be found in Dr. Good's 'Preliminary Essay.' Thus, Mr. Britton flourishes about the pre-eminent and "*immediate effect* and popularity of Junius"; of course, following Good, who speaks of the "almost electric speed" with which the Letters became popular—states, indeed, as if he had the information from Junius himself, that "from the *extraordinary effect* produced *by his first letter* under the signature of Junius, he resolved to adhere to this signature exclusively." Now, there can be no question that the letters of Junius excited public attention:—the *when* and to what extent are the points under consideration. We know that they were copied into other journals;—but this, our experience enables us to say, may be a proof rather of a dearth of news

than of extraordinary popularity or merit. We know that they were collected and piratically published;—but, after all, the meaning of popularity when translated into the language of a publisher and a newspaper proprietor is, that such was the demand for the letters of Junius that the sale of the *Public Advertiser* was thereby greatly increased. This may be a very vulgar test—very shocking to the sensitive and the spiritual; but it was a test by which Junius was not ashamed to be tried. In a private letter to Woodfall he says, speaking of the letter to Mansfield, "I undertake that it shall sell." Again,—it "is, in my opinion, of the highest style of Junius, and cannot fail to sell." So of the collected edition of 1772,—"I am convinced the book will sell." Well then, judging by this test, —the only one within our reach,—Junius had not "an immediate effect," as Dr. Good and Mr. Britton assert. Through the liberal kindness of Mr. Henry Woodfall—who acts in the spirit of his father in all that relates to Junius, and is anxious only that the truth should prevail—we have examined the "Day-book" of the *Public Advertiser*, in the handwriting of his grandfather, Sampson Woodfall; from which it appears that neither the first, nor the first dozen, nor the first two dozen letters had any effect whatever on the sale of the paper! Then, indeed, on the 19th December, 1769, came forth the letter to the King. This created an effect and an extraordinary demand. Dr. Good—who cannot be right, even by accident, —states "that 500 copies of the *Advertiser* were printed in addition to the usual number": whereas the evidence before him, this "Day-book," to which he might have referred, would have proved that 1750 additional copies were printed. To meet the demand expected, or which followed, for Junius's next letter (to the Duke of Grafton) published 14th February, 1770, 700 additional copies were printed; for the following, on the 19th March, the additional supply was 350; for the letter in April, 350—but not an additional copy was printed of the letter of the 28th May. There were 100 only on the 22nd August for the letter to Lord North. The letter to Lord Mansfield again awakened public attention—and 600 additional copies were printed. We have no detailed account of the sale

in January: but 500 additional copies were printed of the *Public Advertiser* which contained the letter in April, 1771—100 of the June letter to the Duke of Grafton—250 for the first in July to the same—not one for the second letter to Horne Tooke of the 24th of July—200 for the August letter to the same—250 for the letter to the Duke of Grafton in September. With the letter to the Livery of London in September the sale *fell* 250—with the letter of the 5th of October there was neither rise nor fall—with the letter of the 2nd November to Mansfield it may have risen 50, but we doubt it—and on the 28th with that to the Duke of Grafton it rose 350. And there ends the history of "the immediate effect" and the total effect, so far as the "Day-book" has enabled us to carry out our inquiry. We have given these details as curious and interesting in themselves. Generally, we may observe, that beyond the above-mentioned sale of the particular papers in which they appeared, the Letters of Junius did not effect any of the wonders attributed to them, either immediately or permanently. The *Public Advertiser* had long been a successful and rising paper. In the four years that preceded the first certain publication of Junius—that is, from January, 1765 to December, 1768—the monthly sale rose from 47,515 to 75,450, nearly 60 per cent.; whereas, from January 1769 to December, 1771, during which period the Junius letters appeared, it rose from 74,800 to 83,950, or little more than 12 per cent.

Mr. Britton tells us that "a newspaper at that time was very unlike those of the present day. The sale was also comparatively *very limited.*" The above is proof that the sale of the *Public Advertiser* was superior to some of the existing* London daily papers—and but little inferior to any of them except the *Times* and the *Daily News.*

Again, Mr. Britton tells us that Sampson Woodfall was "the printer, and is presumed to have been the editor and chief if not *sole proprietor.*" These seem small matters:—but a knowledge of who were the proprietors may be more im-

* 1848.

portant in this inquiry than "judicious critics" dream of. What was the actual share held by Sampson Woodfall when Junius became a contributor we do not know; but we are enabled to state on the best authority—his own hand-writing—that in December, 1767, if not at the close of 1768, he had a *one twentieth share* and his father two twentieths! So much for Mr. Britton's conjecture about the *sole* proprietorship!

From the *Athenæum*, July 7, 1849.

The History of Junius and his Works—Identity of Junius with a distinguished living Character—A Critical Enquiry regarding the Real Author of the Letters of Junius, &c., &c., &c. North British Review.

An examination of the evidence brought forward, from time to time, since 1812, in favour of the several claims of Sackville, Boyd, Francis, Barré, and others, to be considered as the writer of Junius's Letters; with facts and arguments in favour of a new claimant,—Mr. Lauchlin Macleane.* The review is understood to have been written by a gentleman whose opinion on any subject is entitled to respectful consideration:—indeed, we need not hesitate to say by Sir David Brewster, for the facts adduced in respect to Lauchlin Macleane are conclusive on that point.

It is not our intention to slay the slain, or generally to criticise the critic. We shall confine ourselves to a consideration of the evidence brought forward by him in favour of Mr. Lauchlin Macleane.

Some years since it was incidentally mentioned in Cooke's 'History of Parties,' and subsequently confirmed by paragraphs

* Almon (Junius, 1806, i. xxii.) says, suspicion fell on Mr. Grattan and Lauchlin Macleane as the joint authors:—"and this was certainly the opinion of the late Marquis of Lansdowne; though his lordship avoided explaining himself fully on the subject, saying only he believed the writer had never yet been named." Almon thought it was Boyd, with possibly the assistance of Macleane, his brother, and Grattan.

in the newspapers, that Sir David Brewster, in turning over old family papers, had stumbled on evidence all but conclusive that Mr. Lauchlin Macleane was the writer of Junius's Letters. That evidence is now before us:—and we will at once submit it for consideration, with such comment as suggests itself.—

"Upwards of thirty years ago, when Sir David Brewster was looking over the papers of the late James Macpherson, Esq., M.P., he found several letters addressed to him with the signature of L. Macleane, and bearing the dates of 1776–7, a few years after Junius ceased to write. * * One of these began with the following sentence:—'I shall follow your advice, my dear sir, implicitly. The feelings of the man are not fine, but he must be chafed into sensation.'* This and other similar passages were shown to Mr. Macpherson of Belleville, who recollected that the name of Macleane was mentioned in Galt's Life of West in connexion with that of Junius. A copy of the book was immediately sent for, when to the great surprise of the parties the following passage was discovered:—'An incident,' says Mr. Galt, 'of a curious nature has brought him (Mr. West) to be a party, in some degree, in the singular question respecting the mysterious author of the celebrated letters of Junius. On the morning that the first of these famous invectives appeared, his friend, Governor Hamilton, happened to call; and enquiring the news, Mr. West informed him of that bold and daring epistle.† Ringing for his servant at the same time he desired the newspaper to be brought in. Hamilton read it over with great attention; and when he had done, laid it on his knees in a manner that particularly attracted the notice of the painter who was standing at his easel. 'This letter,' said Hamilton,‡ in a tone of vehement

* Vigorous and fine—but *professional* as coming from Dr. Macleane.

† Galt himself subsequently threw discredit on this story.

‡ I learn from 'Letters on Pennsylvania' (lent me by Mr. Thoms) a privately printed book, 1855, that Jan. 1758, "Our Assembly have taken up Wm. Moore and the Provost, and put them in custody for *writing a libel against* the former assembly" (p. 105), and this made a great excitement, and I think Hamilton was Governor about that time; but I find no mention of, or reference to, Macleane.

feeling 'is by that d——d scoundrel Macleane.' 'What Macleane?' inquired Mr. West. 'The surgeon of Otway's regiment; the fellow who attacked me so violently in the Philadelphia newspapers, on account of the part I felt it to be my duty to take against one of the officers. *This letter is by him.* I know these very words. I may well remember them;' and he read over several phrases and sentiments which Macleane employed against him. Mr. West then informed the Governor that Macleane was in the country, and that he was personally acquainted with him. 'He came over,' said Mr. West, 'with Colonel Barré, by whom he was introduced to Lord Shelburne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne), and is at present private secretary to his lordship.' This remarkable anecdote, taken in connexion with the casual discovery of Macleane's letters, induced Sir David Brewster to enter upon an inquiry foreign to his own studies, but not without an interest to those who like himself were admirers of the writings of Junius. In this inquiry he has been engaged for nearly thirty years; and though he does not pretend to have identified Macleane with Junius, he believes that in favour of no other candidate can such an amount of evidence be produced. Lauchlin Macleane was born in the county of Antrim in 1727 or 1728. His father, John Macleane, was a nonjuring clergyman, nearly connected with the Macleanes of Coll, and was driven from Scotland in consequence of his attachment to the exiled family, and of his refusal, along with many others, to pray for King George the First and the Royal family. This must have taken place previous to 1726, for he married after he arrived in Ireland, and took up his residence in the north of Ireland, near Belfast. He was a man robust in stature and independent in his principles, and he had occasion to exhibit both these qualities during his residence in Scotland. When he was one day coming out of church, a quarrel arose between him and some officers of the army, who had no doubt been chiding him for his disloyalty. After some altercation, they told him that nothing but his coat prevented them from giving him a good beating. Macleane immediately threw off his coat, exclaiming, '*Lie you there, Divinity, and Macleane will do for himself,*' and gave the officers a sound drubbing. * * Thus

driven from the house of his father, and forced to seek an asylum in a sister-land, an ardent mind like that of John Macleane must have cherished strong feelings of dislike and even hatred against the dominant party by whom he was persecuted; and in the legacy of revenge which he doubtless bequeathed to his son, we see the origin, if he were Junius, of that unconquerable hatred of Scotland and the Scotch which rankled in his breast. In no other candidate for the mask of Junius can we find such powerful reasons for his bitter and never-ending anathemas against our country. Mr. Macleane does not seem to have remained in the Church, for we find him characterised as a gentleman of small fortune."

Here there are many statements, which we shall discuss hereafter; but, for the present, we will confine ourselves to the parentage of and "the legacy" bequeathed to Macleane.

It is always with reluctance that we call in question the statements of a writer who has devoted time and attention to his subject; and in this instance Sir David, we are told, has been engaged, in the inquiry "for nearly thirty years!" Well, then, let us admit that it is something like thirty years to thirty hours—or, in sporting phrase, "Lombard Street to a China orange"—in favour of the writer against the critic. Still we must believe that there are grave errors in this preliminary statement—improbabilities certainly. Why should this stout old nonjuror select, of all places in the world, the North of Ireland for his retreat? unless, indeed, the fighting propensities were stronger in him than the preaching. A poor Highland parson might have been tempted by hopes of patronage and profit—but certainly the North of Ireland was not a place to be chosen as a peaceful retreat by a persecuted Jacobite. Why, again, should this emigrant for conscience sake disfrock himself, as Sir David Brewster suggests, so soon as he had reached his selected country? It would have been "lie you there, Divinity!" without pretext or apology. He might have done the same thing and passed in quiet for "a gentleman of small fortune" in his own wild, barren birthplace.

The truth we take to be this—Sir David has "rolled two single gentlemen into one." According to contemporary biography or autobiography—to papers and paragraphs circulated at the time, and forced from Macleane and his friends by the libels of his personal and political enemies, who accused him of being blood relation to Macleane the highwayman (which, by the bye, their statements do not disprove)—his *grand*father was a second son of the family of Coll. According to the more circumstantial account of the 'Seneache,' he was a descendant of that family somewhat further removed. Authorities differ as to the early pursuits of the grandfather. He was, we believe, originally in the army; but all agree that he subsequently entered the church, and settled in the North of Ireland soon after the Revolution of 1688—was chaplain to Lord Massareene, held a living in Antrim and the prebend of Roferchen. He was twice married; and by his second wife had three sons, John, James, and Clotworthy, named after his patron. John, the eldest son, in due course, married Elizabeth Mathews, daughter of the rector of Ballymony, and had three sons, of whom our Laughlin or Lachlin was the eldest. This difference of forty or more years in the removal, and the introduction of another generation, help to explain away some otherwise perplexing difficulties. But what then becomes of "the legacy"—of that "unconquerable hatred of Scotland and the Scotch" which rankled in the breast of Junius, and which, for the first time, we are told, is satisfactorily explained in the case of Macleane by the persecution of his father? His father, so far as we know, never set foot in Scotland; and even his grandfather had left there some quarter or half a century before the persecution alluded to commenced.

Having thus settled the genealogy and "the legacy," we come now to the hero himself—

"Lauchlin was sent, in 1745 or 1746, from a school near Belfast to Trinity College, Dublin, where he became acquainted with Burke and Goldsmith. He afterwards went to Edinburgh to study Medicine; and on the 4th January, 1756, he was introduced by Goldsmith to the Medical Society, of which he became a member."

Here mistakes are obvious. Macleane could not have been introduced by Goldsmith to the Medical Society of Edinburgh in 1756, because Goldsmith had left Edinburgh two years before. The dates of his letters prove that he was at Leyden in April, 1754. This, we presume, is a typographical error; and indeed the paper is printed so carelessly that we always fear to mistake mere printer's blunders for substantive and grave errors by the writer;—and yet the substantive and grave errors of the writer make it a question whether we are quite justified in thus letting him escape at the expense of the printer.

We are now told that,—

"After completing his medical course, he obtained the degree of M.D. on the 6th August, 1755; and some time after this he entered the army as surgeon to Otway's regiment (the 35th). We have not been able to learn if Macleane was in any of the expeditions to North America, which were fitted out in 1757 or 1758; but we know [*We* do *not* know] that he accompanied the celebrated expedition in 1759, when Wolfe fell on the heights of Abraham, and the command of the British troops devolved upon Brigadier-General Townshend. Major Barré and his countryman Macleane shared in the dangers and honours of that eventful day. * * * Brigadier-General Townshend was unpopular in the army, and particularly obnoxious to Barré and Macleane, and the other friends of Wolfe. * * * Irritated by this selfish and ungenerous conduct, the friends of Wolfe, and who could they be but Barré or Macleane, drew up and published, in 1760, the celebrated Letter to a Brigadier-General, already mentioned, which so clearly resembles in its temper, and style, and sentiments, the Letters of Junius. If Junius, therefore, wrote this letter, all the arguments of Mr. Britton in favour of Barré's being the author of it, and therefore Junius, are equally applicable to Macleane; and if we have proved that Barré could not be Junius, it follows that, under these assumptions, Macleane is entitled to that distinction. This conclusion we may fairly corroborate by a reference to one of the miscellaneous letters, signed *A Faithful Monitor*, and ascribed to Junius, although there is no sufficient evidence that he wrote it. But as it is possible, and to a certain degree

probable, that it may prove genuine, we are entitled to add this indeterminate quantity to our argument."

We shall not stop to ascertain the value of this indeterminate quantity; what we want to know is the value of the determinate—the proofs of the facts on which the whole argument is to rest. For the present we must remain in suspense, and allow Sir David to proceed.—

"Early in 1761 General Monckton was appointed Governor of New York, and in December of the same year he left that city with a strong force for the reduction of Martinique. Otway's regiment was part of the eleven battalions which went from New York for this purpose, and Macleane accompanied the General as his private secretary. The English fleet rendezvoused at Barbadoes, came before Martinique on the 7th January, 1762, and obtained possession of it on the 4th February. After the reduction of the French West India Islands, and the peace of 1762 which followed it, the regiments to which Barré and Macleane belonged were disbanded. We have not been able to obtain much information about Macleane after the taking of Martinique. He seems to have settled in Philadelphia as a physician, and to have remained there for some years. A gentleman in Philadelphia mentions 'Dr. Laughlin Macleane and his lady as acquaintances of his grandfather, and visitors at his house sometime between 1761 and 1766.' * * 'The latter (Mrs. Macleane) rarely missed a day, when the weather was favourable, of calling upon her countrywoman, my grandmother.' * * Mr. Prior informs us, that when in Philadelphia Macleane acquired great medical reputation, followed by its common attendant, envy, from the less fortunate of his brethren. * * In 1766, Macleane met Barry, the painter, at Paris."

Now, not to delay or perplex the argument by asking questions however pertinent,—not even to comment on such extraordinary opinions as that no friend of Wolfe's, in a whole discontented army, could have written a pamphlet against Townshend save either Macleane or Barré, although Townshend himself accused and challenged another man for having

written it or got it written,—no, nor to correct obvious and palpable errors,—let us assume the above statement to be true; and then consider, where was the interval of "some years," between 1761 and 1766, during which Macleane practised as a physician at Philadelphia, exciting the envy of the profession, and enabling Mrs. Macleane to pay her daily respects to "my grandmother," according to the memoirs of the Pennsylvanian?—or, according to Sir David, within even narrower limits—that is, between the peace of 1762 and 1766 when Barry met him in Paris.

Time, as the reader will observe, is an important element in these calculations, yet Sir David must bate us a year or two even of this limited interval; for it was in 1765, not in 1766, that Barry met Macleane in Paris; and we know, from the Parliamentary History, that Dr. Musgrave met him there in 1764,—and, from Macleane's own statement in the House of Commons, that he went to Paris in April of that year. The interval is thus reduced to an interval of "some months," rather than of "some years,"—and during *these months* Macleane made a fortune in Martinique, invested it in Grenada, returned to England, and visited Paris. "Not able to obtain much information about Macleane after the taking of Martinique!" Why, if Sir David would ensure us but a tithe of the fame which he has so justly won for the least of his discoveries, we would make out for him a diary of Macleane's scrambling, scheming, intriguing, gambling existence, from the hour when he embarked from Martinique to the day on which he perished on board the Swallow.

But the whole story, including the services under Wolfe, and all the prolific assumptions which follow, may be disposed of in a paragraph: for we can state, on the authority of official records, that Lauchlin Macleane was never surgeon of Otway's regiment,—that Thomas Wilkins was appointed surgeon to the regiment on the 22nd of March, 1747, and held the appointment until the 1st of June, 1762, when he was superseded by George Hugonen; further, that there was no officer of that name in the Thirty-Fifth, or any other regiment, either in the year 1767 or 1768.

What now becomes of the assertion of Governor Hamilton, that the letters of Junius were certainly written by that "d——d scoundrel," "the surgeon of Otway's regiment"? What is to become of the letter to a Brigadier-general—of the hatred to Townsend as a stimulating power—and of one-half of the other personal feelings which, like "the legacy," serve, we are told, to identify Macleane as Junius? If the identity of the pamphleteer and Junius be proved—if the pamphlet-writer must have served under Wolfe at Quebec—and if, as Sir David intimates, the pamphlet must have been written either by Barré or Macleane, we think Mr. Britton may reverse the conclusion at which Sir David arrives, and fairly say "it follows that, under these assumptions, Barré is entitled to that distinction." But as Mr. Britton, like the churchwarden's wife, is but mortal, we think it well to remind him that these are "assumptions."

We shall not revive all the charges which were, at one time or another, preferred against Macleane; but we may receive as substantially true the admissions of his friends,—in some instances of his brother. From these and other sources, we collect that Macleane married while at Edinburgh a woman of good family but of small fortune; that in the autumn of 1755 or spring of 1756 he went to America, and settled at Philadelphia; his friends say as a physician, but as they admit he had a partner it seems not improbable that he also kept a "drug store," or, as we should call it, an apothecary's shop,—which was the assertion of his adversaries. That he went out with any military or civil appointment does not appear.

In 1761 General Monckton was appointed to the command of the Expedition against Martinique; and then, for the first time, Macleane became connected with the army,—not as surgeon of Otway's regiment—not as an officer holding his Majesty's commission—but as secretary, or commissary, or contractor, receiving his appointment, whatever it was, from the general. His friends said that Monckton entertained so high an opinion of Macleane that, to secure the best in abundance for the troops, he gave him a contract for the supply of everything to the army; that Macleane, flattered by

the good opinion of so distinguished a person, abandoned a profession in which he had succeeded to the utmost of his wishes, to share the general's fortune,—and with such disinterestedness that, contrary to the usual issue of such contracts, he lost several thousand pounds of his private fortune by his engagements. It is, however, admitted that the general amply rewarded him, by conferring on him the very best civil offices at his disposal; and that Macleane made an ample fortune, which he beneficially invested in the purchase of large estates in Grenada.

Other reasons were assigned, and perhaps correctly, for Macleane's leaving Philadelphia; but with his motives we are in no way concerned. Macleane, we believe, returned to England in the autumn of 1763. In 1764 and 1765 he resided principally in Paris, and the Burkes gave Barry the painter a letter of introduction to him; and Barry says, "nothing could equal the warmth and affection I met with in Mr. Macleane." On the 7th of October, 1766, Wm. Burke informs Barry—"your friend Macleane is this day made an under Secretary of State, so that we are labourers in the same vineyard,"—

"Macleane [says Sir David] had now embarked on a political career which must have led to wealth and honours; but in consequence of the Duke of Grafton's intrigues in the Cabinet, all his prospects were blasted. So early as July, 1678, 'The Bedfords' had begun to persecute Lord Shelburne. * * In August 'the removal of Lord Shelburne was proposed in the closet and objected to;' but his enemies seem to have prevailed, for in September Mr. Lynch was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Sardinia. Lord Chatham had resolved, under these circumstances, to resign, and in mentioning his resolution to the Duke of Grafton on the 12th of October, he added, 'that he could not enough lament the removing of Sir Jeffery Amherst (from the government of Virginia) and that of Lord Shelburne.' * * The Duke of Grafton, however, was determined that Lord Shelburne should resign, and accordingly Lord Chatham and Lord Shelburne retired from the Ministry on the 21st of October, 1768. Macleane of course followed the fate of his chief, and doubtless

felt keenly his dismissal from the honours and emoluments of office. In less than *three* months Junius launched his first formidable philippic against the Ministry."

Here it is assumed that Macleane first entered on political life under Shelburne, and that all his hopes were overthrown when his chief was driven from power by the combined influence of Grafton and Bedford—hence Junius, and hence his animosities. Now, if the "hence Junius" be admitted as probable—it does not, therefore, follow, that Macleane was Junius.

Sir David appears to be wholly unaware that when the Rockingham party were in office, Macleane was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of St. Vincent,—and with hopes, wrote William Burke, that, "by the mediation of Lord Cardigan, he will be made a commissioner for the sale of lands, which will gild the plume the other gives." When, however, in the autumn, Macleane was just about to embark, Chatham and Shelburne came into office, and Macleane became Under-Secretary of State, and Ulysses Fitzmaurice was appointed Lieutenant-Governor.* In the next parliament (1768) Macleane was returned as member for Arundel, together with Sir George Colebrook, chairman of the East India Company—a conjunction not without its significance to those who know the issues, but on which we cannot now dwell. Of course at the close of that year, when Shelburne, the secretary, retired, Macleane, the under-secretary, retired with him; but never so far, we suspect, as to be out of sight of office. In 1769 and 1770, as we shall hereafter show, the involvement of Macleane's private affairs, consequent on his gambling in India Stock, could have left him little leisure to attend to politics, or to turning periods and writing Letters, public or private, beyond the requirements of the hour. In May, 1771, he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds; and was, by Lord North, appointed Superintendent of Lazarettoes, with 1,000*l.* a-year. In another twelvemonth, January, 1772,† he figured as Collector at Phila-

* 2nd Decr. U. Fitzmaurice, Lt.-Governor of St. Vincents, in the room of Lauchlin Macleane, Esq.—Ann. Register.

† Chs. Fox wanted the post of Collector at Philadelphia for O'Brien the actor

delphia; and in April, 1773, as Commissary-General of Musters, and Auditor-General of Military Accounts, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in India, "an appointment worth about 5,000*l.* a-year." * So far, indeed, was Macleane from running into fierce opposition, that, according to the report of his brother, he was for the greater part of his public life an avowed supporter of the ministry. It is true that while in France he became intimate with Wilkes, was his personal and kind friend, lent him money, and was very fierce in respect to the Middlesex election. So were many and much more distinguished men—who hoped thereby rather to get into office than to be kept out of it. The cause of Wilkes, so far as it was connected with the Middlesex election, was the cause of constitutional liberty. On his own showing, Macleane separated from Wilkes when he became under-secretary and quarrelled with him after the Rockingham party had withdrawn their protection and their pension,—after Chatham had publicly and somewhat wantonly denounced him,—and when Shelburne was working by all direct and indirect means against him in the city: in fact, when it was politic to do so. Wilkes asserted, and perhaps believed, that Macleane was bought off by the court—and Walpole has perpetuated the charge; but there is no proof that it was true. On the contrary, the reply to Wilkes was that he could not have been bought off, for he had never been in opposition, except on the question relating to the Middlesex election:—"eight years have elapsed since his return to England, during *six of them he has been zealous in support of the administration;* when he differed it was on account of the Middlesex election."

And this "zealous" supporter of administration, Macleane, we are now told, was Junius! "Junius," as Sir David exclaims when considering the pretensions of Sackville, "asking and receiving favours from the Crown!" No one indeed, can raise stronger objections than Sir David. "It would be a

who had married his first cousin Lady Susan Strangways. See Russell's 'Memoir of C. J. Fox,' i. 73.

* Campbell, in his Life of Boyd, says Macleane was accredited agent to the Nabob of Arcot.

difficult task," he says, by way of objection to Francis, "to persuade the public that Junius held lucrative office in the State, while he was systematically assailing the King and the Government." Would it be more difficult in the case of Francis than of Macleane? To say nothing of earlier offices, was not the Lazarettoes with its thousand a year (a more lucrative appointment than Francis held) followed according to his own theory by a whole volume of Junius's 'Letters,' including a modest contribution by the soft spoken Veteran? Seriously, we agree with Sir David that there would be such a moral obliquity in this conduct as ought to be conclusive equally against the claims of Francis and those of Macleane—even if we had no other evidence. We may here, however, observe by way of further "analogy," that it was in this same year, 1771, that Macleane and Wilkes were libelling each other in the public newspapers,—that Macleane challenged Wilkes,—and that Junius carried on his long, laboured, and friendly correspondence with him.

Macleane, we are told, gained the patronage of Lord North —that "most treacherous of all the King's ministers," as Junius called him—early in 1771, by writing a pamphlet in "Defence of the Ministry on the subject of the Falkland Islands!" We must confess that when we came to this passage, it took away our breath. Junius to stop in the mid career of his labours to write a defence of the ministry! Of all the "analogies" this is certainly the most curious! Macleane, we are told, wrote this defence early in 1771; Junius, we know, wrote and published in January, 1771, his attack on the ministry, and on their conduct in respect to the Falkland Islands—an attack so severe and so damaging that Dr. Johnson was especially called on to reply to it! A man who can believe this may "most powerfully and potentially" believe—anything. It is indeed "by indirections to find directions out."

We are not surprised that Sir David Brewster was anxious to get a sight of this pamphlet. If a few private letters had awakened such strong suspicions, what might not have been proved by a whole political pamphlet? But "there is no

copy," it appears "in the British Museum, nor any other library, public or private," where he has made inquiry after it; and his inquiries "have been very extensive." Shall we tell him why this result? because, as in the celebrated case of the "impossible," a pamphlet is "very seldom" found which never existed. It is strange that Sir David did not suspect this from the very words of the reference:—"in spite of Mr. Laughlin's disinterested *unbroken eloquence*."

Macleane's reference to the titles of the King of Spain, and the argument which he founded thereon, were made in a set speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 13th of February, when the question relating to the Falkland Islands was under discussion; and, curiously enough, Macleane commenced, after the Vindex fashion, by reference to his broken eloquence. "I promise," he said, "to make up in brevity *for my want of utterance*, and on this ground I entreat the patience of the House." The speech is not reported in the Parliamentary History, and is only summarily noticed by Cavendish; but it was published at the time in the newspapers,—and no doubt, from the marked emphasis of the printer, the copy was furnished by Macleane. The reference, therefore, by Vindex (assumed to be Junius), whether generous or not, was at least pertinent. Macleane's argument, so far as our question is concerned, was this:—

The last speaker (he said) has "made use of a word which I cannot pass over in silence; he has said that England has *recognized* the right of Spain to Falkland's Islands, by accepting the Spanish minister's declaration. Others have more modestly termed this *a reservation of right*. But I deny both the one and the other, since the giving possession of the soil gives this country that only right which is worth contesting for. The treaties of Nimeguen," &c., &c., "are full of such sorts of reservations, which really mean nothing. Will the House give me leave to quote one or two examples from the very last treaty of peace,—the treaty of Fontainebleau? In this treaty, the King of Portugal, that little king, in his *pleins pouvoirs* to his minister, calls the Duke of Bedford ambassador plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain, *France*, &c.;

and yet France took no manner of umbrage at this phrase. But in matter of reservation, certainly no monarch ever equalled the King of Spain; for in this very treaty he has kept up, in the titles he has assumed, his claim to three parts in four of the whole world; for not content with reserving his right to the territories of his enemies, he has reserved his right also to those of his best friends and allies. His words ran thus:—'Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of the *two Sicilies*, of *Jerusalem*, of *Navarre*, of Grenada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of *Minorca*, of Seville, of *Sardinia*, of Cordova, of *Corsica*, of Murcia, of Java, of the Algarves, of Algeria, of GIBRALTAR, of the Canary Islands, of the EAST INDIES, of the WEST INDIES, ISLANDS and CONTINENT, of the OCEAN; Archduke of AUSTRIA, of BRABANT, of MILAN; Count of *Hapsburg*, of FLANDERS, of TIROL, &c.' Can anybody, after these claims, think that of the Falkland Islands worth attending to, or that such reservations are more than mere empty words of form, meaning nothing? For all these reasons, I shall, from the bottom of my heart, vote for the question as moved by the noble lord."

We have quoted enough to illustrate the reference by Vindex, —"Pray tell that ingenious gentleman, Mr. Laughlin Macleane, that when the King of Spain writes to the King of Great Britain, he omits four-fifths of his titles. * * In spite of Mr. Laughlin's disinterested, unbroken, melodious eloquence, it is a melancholy truth that the Crown of England was never so insulted, never so shamefully degraded, as by this declaration." And the gentleman who voted the direct contrary "from the bottom of his heart,"—and who could talk and write about voting "from the bottom of his heart,"—was Junius!

With the subsequent history of Macleane our readers are in no way interested; but there are some incidents in his past career which throw a light on the character of the man,—and we may as well clear them up.

Macleane, says Sir David, perished in 1777, on board the Swallow packet, which foundered at sea.—

"He left a will, by which he bequeathed a variety of 'profuse' legacies, without any available funds to pay them. He had purchased four estates in Grenada, for which he paid 200,000*l.*; but strange to say, his heirs declined to administer to his will. His son-in-law, the late Colonel Wilkes, governor of St. Helena, informed the writer of this article, that application had been made to him to give a title to some of these properties, but that he uniformly declined to do this, from a conviction that the estate was insolvent, and hence a considerable West India estate became the property of its steward."*

The refusal of his heirs to administer would under the circumstances here stated have been strange indeed! Macleane had, it is true, bought estates in Grenada; but the greater part of them were, we suspect, taken up on credit. It was asserted that while at Martinique he "picked up money enough to purchase some, and credit enough to comprehend a great many more;"—and this was not denied by his brother, who argued that credit implied honour. Be the fact as it may, it does not affect the issue; for Macleane long before he died had lost all—was utterly ruined. He was a great stock-jobber, especially in India stock; and his speculations were, we believe, carried on at the same time, and on the same scale, in Amsterdam, in Paris, and in London. He was at first successful; but then came the panic of May, 1769, when stock fell in a few days from 275 to 240, and continued to fall for years after, and at one swoop he was reduced to beggary. When accused of this—stigmatized as a "disgraceful and dishonest bankrupt"†—the best defence was, that his conduct, "if it did not justify the extent of his transactions, ought at least to extenuate his fault," for he gave up to his creditors "*Grenada estates and all*"—nay, that he did more, for "he

* I suspect that Wilkes declined for a much better reason though he did not tell Brewster, viz., that his wife *was a natural daughter* of Macleane's, and could not therefore have given a title, had the property been Macleane's.

† Qy. Does the letter in 'The Treasury,' i. 236, about M.P.'s combining in their speculations, and leaving *one* as a scapegoat to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, refer to Macleane?

legalised every demand that stood *unsatisfied* against him;" from which it is evident that "Grenada estates and all" were not sufficient to satisfy his enormous stock-jobbing liabilities. Indeed, the records of the Court of Exchequer prove this, and a great deal more. We thence learn that his early friend General Monckton had given him a bill for 1,000*l.* to get discounted; and though Monckton did not receive a shilling, he was, in 1770, sued on the bill. It is not said that this arose from any moral misconduct on the part of Macleane, nor are our readers interested in the circumstances; but it came out incidentally that on the 25th of July, 1769, Macleane was indebted to De la Fontaine * and Brymes, stockbrokers, and the holders of Monckton's bill, in the enormous sum of 23,555*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* We know further, and from like proceedings in the Exchequer, that in that same year, 1769, Macleane was so desperately in want of money, that the Earl of Shelburne gave him three bonds for 5,000*l.* each; and when sued for the amount, Shelburne applied for an injunction, on the ground of want of consideration, but did not succeed. Here, then, is nearly 40,000*l.* due to two parties, which must be considered as amongst the unsatisfied claims which he had legalised *after* "the Grenada estates and all" were gone. The "heirs" of Macleane, if not wiser in their generation, were certainly better informed than Sir David Brewster.

A great deal more might be written on the statements and inferences in this pamphlet; but the evidence in chief has so utterly broken down, that it would be idle to waste further time in an examination of what is merely adduced as incidental and corroborative proof.

* See Junius's Private Letter of 10th December, 1769.

From the *Athenæum*, Feb. 2, 1850.

Junius; with New Evidence as to the Authorship, and an Analysis by the late Sir Harris Nicolas. By John Wade, Author of 'A Compendium of British History,' &c. Vol. I. Bohn.

Junius is once again in the ascendant,—and a new edition was a matter of course. This, under an honest, intelligent, and diligent editor, was much to be desired. A critical examination of Good's misleading volumes (1812) would at least have left us *a* Junius; whereas now we have a thing of shreds and patches,—a man made up of contradictions and absurdities.

When we found that Mr. Bohn's edition was to be in two volumes,—that the first was to contain a simple reprint of the edition of 1772, and the second the Miscellaneous Letters,—that Mr. Wade, the editor, had so far profited by the hints of the *Athenæum* as to acknowledge that Dr. Good had inserted letters the authorship of which was not "well authenticated,"—and that he proposed hereafter to show (what, indeed, we thought had been shown already) that the letters of "Poplicola, Atticus, [Good's 'incontestable' Atticus!] and others" had been too "unhesitatingly affiliated,"—we had hope that the Editor had some knowledge of the duties of the office which he had undertaken. But that hope faded before an examination of the volume itself. As we turned over the leaves it grew fainter and more faint,—and at last we closed the book in despair.

There are offences too, in this volume out of the range of mere literary discipline; which for the honour of "our order" we will not characterise,—but simply report on, leaving Mr. Wade as regards them to the judgment of the public.

The advertisement informs us that the present edition of Junius contains Woodfall's edition (meaning the edition of 1812) entire; and that "further illustrations" have been added. The first part of the statement we leave to be verified

by others; merely observing, that even such simple matters must not be taken on trust,—for the celebrated note which has given rise to so many conjectures, and which is so elaborately reasoned on in 'Junius Identified' (p. 132)—a note inserted by Junius himself, and containing the quotation from Chatham's speech which Junius vouched for as "taken with exactness,"—is altogether omitted! This note we believe is to be found in every other edition from 1772 to the present hour.

That "further illustrations"—if this mean illustrations not to be found in the edition of 1812—have been added, we freely admit:—and that such additions have their value. The book, therefore, may have its merit, whatever may be the demerit of the editor; and into the character of these "further illustrations" we shall now proceed to inquire.

There are three classes of notes here given:—notes from the edition of 1772, signed "Junius"—notes from the edition of 1812, by Dr. Good, given without a signature,—and notes signed "Editor," or "Ed.," which of course should go to the credit or discredit, as may be, of Mr. Wade.

We were at first startled at the apparent extent of the labours and ability of the new editor; for many of the contributions bearing his signature are elaborate essays rather than notes, and admirable examples of subtle and refined criticism. As we read on, however, we were strangely troubled with vague recollections. At last, we could bear our doubts no longer; and, with the Vicar's apology for interrupting so much learning, we dived down into the long-forgotten past, and brought up Robert Heron's volumes. Lo! there it was: "Sanconiathon, Manetho, Berosus"—all and every word of it. Of "the abundant materials placed at his disposal by the publisher," the only one of which the editor appears to have availed himself is the volumes of Robert Heron. To Heron the public are indebted for *all* the essays signed "Ed." prefixed to the several letters—and Heron "cut into little stars" figures as "Ed." in the foot-notes.

As aids to the curious we have noted down the following facts. The Remarks on the Dedication, two whole pages of

small type,—the critical foot-note to the Preface,—the character of Lord North, p. 107.—that of Lord Granby, p. 110,—on Corsica, p. 103,—the introduction to the 4th Letter,—four pages of small type introductory to Letter 8,—the introduction to Letter 9, the note at p. 147,—another, about Nancy Parsons, at p. 148, the introduction to Letter 12,—three pages, in small type, of introduction to Letter 15,—the critical note at p. 175,—the long critical note to the 23rd Letter,—the notes at pages 218, 219, 221, 222, 223,—the criticism on Draper's Letters, p. 224,—the note on the 28th Letter,—that on the 29th Letter,—the Memoir of Colonel Burgoyne, at p. 255,—the note on the State of Parties, p. 270,—the note at page 274,—that on the 39th Letter, p. 291,—the notes at pages 303, 305, 310, 311,—on the Falkland Islands, paraphrased and mutilated, p. 316,—three pages of small type, 328 to 330,—the note at page 347,—State of Parties on the Death of George Grenville, 350, the notes at pages 397, 405, 408, 465,—in brief, all the Essays and Criticisms, without exception, and all the more important notes from 'Remarks on the Dedication' to the note signed "Ed." at p. 466, are "conveyed" from Heron, with only an occasional exception,—and those exceptions are appropriations from Dr. Good.

Let us be just, however, no matter what the amount of provocation. The public are indebted to Mr. Wade for a few curious, and some original, notes,—curious as specimens of mosaic, and original as containing nothing but blunders. Thus (at p. 240), we have a long one on Junius's Letter respecting the arrest of General Gansell; the first paragraph being from Dr. Good, the second from Heron, the third from Almon! Mr. Wade was informed (by Good, and truly) that Gansell was arrested, and released by the soldiers at the Horse Guards; and by Almon (also truly), that he was afterwards tried for firing at the bailiffs, and acquitted. But Good told Mr. Wade that the one arrest was in Piccadilly, for 2000*l.*,—and Almon said that the other, when he fired at the bailiffs, was at his lodgings in Craven-street, for 134*l.*; and from the most simple research the Editor would have learned that the

in a letter to Woodfall, to be submitted to Junius, and to be found in the 'Garrick Correspondence.'—

"Mr. Woodfall informs me *in a letter*, without any previous impertinent inquiries * on my part *or the least desire of secresy on his*, that Junius would write no more. *Two or three days after* receipt of yours, being obliged to write a letter on business of the theatre to one at Richmond * * I mentioned that Junius would write no more."

Garrick's letter, be it observed, is dated the *20th of November.*

"The letter" [Junius's letter], he says, "I received last Monday night;" and "I am told in most outrageous terms, and *near a month after the supposed crime was committed*," &c.

Garrick, then, gave the information to his correspondent at Richmond "near a month" before the Monday preceding the 20th of November. Now Junius, though nervous at all times, was never so frightened as when he heard that Garrick was, as he supposed, intermeddling. It is fair, therefore, to assume that he immediately wrote to Woodfall. We know that he instantly changed his address, and gave emphatic instructions, —"Let no mortal know the alteration;" adding flatteringly, "I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction. * * I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days." It is not to be believed that in this state of excitement he allowed a day, or an hour, after the fact had come to his knowledge, to elapse before he warned Woodfall and took precautions to guard against discovery. Yet the first reference to the subject is, the *Postscript* to a letter of *the 8th of November*— as if the report had just reached him—the importance of which is acknowledged by marking the postscript "secret;" and it is obvious from the silence in his Letter of the *5th* of November, that he had not at that date heard a whisper on the subject.

* The use of the words "impertinent inquiries" proves that Woodfall had shown the original letter to Garrick—although Junius had expressly ordered it to be copied that the handwriting might not be too commonly seen—for Junius had directed Woodfall to alter *inquiries* into *practices.*

If these inferences be correct, the assertion that he "knew every particular the next day" was a mere flourish:—a style which Junius had found so effective with the Printer, that he thought well to try it on the player. So much for another of Dr. Good's especial examples:—No doubt there were rejoicings at Richmond when Garrick's report* reached that place. We know that the report was further circulated by the King himself; and it was certainly a good subject for court and town gossip. We know that the report immediately became current: Garrick in the before quoted letter, says, "I will freely confess that I wrote no letter to any of my friends, without the mention of so remarkable an event," and thus, what was known to everybody, became, "though his peculiar sources of information," at length known to Junius!

It may be said that—with the exception of the war story—the above facts refer to the Private Letters; letters often written for effect,—the effect itself being exaggerated by Dr. Good. This is true:—but they seriously affect the popular belief—the ideal Junius. A few more such would reduce Junius to mere middle-class mortality:—leave us a writer of extraordinary power, knowledge, and uncompromising political principles,—a man self-devoted to a cause,—who laboured without hope of reward in either place, pension, or peerage,—who could truly say "I have faithfully served the public, without the possibility of personal advantage,"—who had no "spur to prick the sides of his intent," no touch even of that weakness which Milton calls "the last infirmity of noble minds,"—who, if there be no proof of court, or official, or secret sources of information being open to him, we may believe to have belonged to that "order" whence such men have generally sprung; and not to have been either a minister, or an ex-minister, or a placeman, or a place-hunter, or a peer, or an M.P., or a dependent, or a sycophant, or a scoundrel

* Wraxall (i. 445), says—"I have been assured that the King riding out in the year 1772 (Qy. more probably at the close of 1771, say November, and see Garrick's report above), accompanied by General Desaguliers, said to him in conversation, 'We know who Junius is, and he will write no more.'" Any one without knowing who he was might have given a guess in 1772, after he had ceased to write, that *Junius* (as Junius) would write no more.

who put himself up to sale and was silenced, as Lord Campbell says,* "by a little provender."—[By the by, the "whirligig of Time" has in this instance brought round its "revenges"; and we hope that the Scotch will be satisfied now that Lords Byron, Brougham, and Campbell have each had a kick at the dead lion.]

To solve the question as to the "peculiar sources of information" open to Junius was, as we have said, the duty of the new Editor; and of this, as he has passed all the Letters without one word of comment or explanation, we must believe that he felt himself incapable. Possibly, however, he may have reserved this, with all his other duties, for the second volume. If he has any such intention, we submit that, for variety and novelty, he should favour us also with a chapter on "the peculiar" characteristics of Junius's ignorance, and the proofs of his *want* of private sources of information. It would be a not uninteresting chapter; and, if fairly written, make manifest, better than all the talk on the other side of the question, the vast power of the man who could produce such effects by his own unaided pen. Mr. Wade may take as his text the following passage in one of Junius's Letters to Wilkes:†—

"In pursuing inquiries, I lie under a singular disadvantage. Not venturing to consult those who are qualified to inform me, I am forced to collect everything from books or common conversation."

In considering this question Mr. Wade must distinguish between Junius as a private and Junius as a public man. When Junius became known as the denouncer equally of men and of measures,—when the public said that of him which he afterwards said of himself; "What public question have I declined, what villain have I spared?"—we may be sure that information flowed in on him from all quarters,—as it does

* See Campbell's Life of Mansfield.

† See also his letter to Wilkes of 6th Nov. 1771, and his earnest solicitation, not only for 'information' but 'observations' on Eyre's case, and his comments on 'Junius Americanus' (Dr. Lee). "Besides the fallibility natural to all of us, *no man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned, I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance.*"

now on the editors of our leading journals when they have once shown a disposition to attack either an individual or an abuse. Junius was in his day the man of most mark and likelihood connected with the press. The notices in the *Public Advertiser* show that he constantly received communications from the Printer, the subjects of which cannot now be known, but may be inferred. In the few Private Letters which remain there is reference to "the pacquet" with the Cavendish arms. He instructs Woodfall to "tell A.B.C. that his papers are received:"—and these there is no doubt were papers relating to Vaughan's case. "I return you the letters you sent me yesterday."—"I shall be glad to hear from your friend at Guildhall. * * I will make use of any materials he gives me." —"The large roll contained a pamphlet."—These are passages in proof of what our own experience would have predicated to be the sure consequences of Junius's position. It is difficult—perhaps impossible—to say how much information Junius received from others. A large political party rejoiced in his triumph, though unwilling publicly to avow their sympathy with one who disregarded the established courtesies of "His Majesty's opposition." Yet with all these aids and appliances, Junius often fell into strange errors. Mr. Butler—an excellent authority—says that Junius was wrong in his law: and we know that in the case of Eyre, he asked Wilkes to tell him "where the force of the formal legal argument lies." Good says, he was "mistaken as to the facts relative to Whittlebury Forest." Possibly, he was wrong in attributing the vindication of the Duke of Grafton to Mr. Weston. He acknowledges himself to have been wrong about the misrepresentations and the Bill of Rights Society. We have shown that he picked up much of his "secret" information from very public places. But as conclusive, we think, on these and other points, let us refer to a passage in the first Letter in the collected edition—21 January, 1769. There we have Junius himself—the unknown, the self-dependent. Let us hear what he says of the great events—the greatest—and of the great men of his day: men, every fact in whose public life must have been known to all of either political position or political party.

"A series of inconsistent measures had alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and at the same time giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire which had benefited most by the expenses of the war should contribute something to the expenses of the peace; and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in Parliament to raise that contribution. But unfortunately for this country, *Mr. Grenville* was at any rate to be distressed, *because he was minister*, and *Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden* were to be *the patrons of America*, because *they were in opposition*. *Their declarations gave spirit* and *argument* to the colonies; and while perhaps *they meant no more than the ruin of a minister*, *they* in effect divided one half of the empire from the other."

On this passage Junius observes, in a note to the edition of 1772, "Yet Junius has been called the partisan of Lord Chatham!" True:—and since said to have been Lord Chatham himself;—and the partisan of Mr. Grenville, (Good evidently inclines in that direction);—and Dr. Parr, and Mr. Barker, and others are resolute that Junius was Charles Lloyd, the secretary of Mr. Grenville. Lord Temple, too, has been named; and the Stowe MSS., about which there is such a ridiculous mystery, are said to prove that Junius was connected with the Grenville family. Mr. John Roberts, also—single-speech Hamilton—Leonidas Glover—Edmund Burke—Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton—Lord George Sackville—Lord Shelburne—Colonel Barré,—have all been fixed on as Junius. So have others in numbers numberless:—but we have enumerated the above, because, with the exception of Lloyd and Burke, they were all, at or about the period referred to, members either of the House of Lords or of the Commons (and Burke certainly was present in the House, though not a member),—and because, as we believe, the one sentence above quoted is conclusive against the claims of each and every one

of those named, and of all who at that time occupied a like position.

The attempt by Mr. George Grenville to tax the Americans by means of the Stamp Act soon after became known as the marking feature of the history of the period; but so little did it excite public attention at the immediate time, that it is doubtful whether the intention to do so, announced on the 10th of March, 1764, gave rise to a single comment. We have Burke's own report of proceedings when, in March, 1765, the Stamp Act was passed.—

"I sat as a stranger in your gallery when the Act was under consideration. I never heard a more languid debate. No more than two or three gentlemen, as I remember, spoke against the Act, and that with great reserve and remarkable temper. There was but one division in the whole progress of the bill; and the minority did not reach to more than thirty-nine or forty."

This is not the style in which Burke would have characterized a debate wherein Pitt and Pratt (Chatham and Camden) had taken an active part, and by their denunciations giving "spirit and argument" to the colonists,—"dividing the empire." Besides, the "two or three gentlemen" who spoke are known:—Barré and Conway received the thanks of the Americans for their exertions on the occasion.

The remarkable circumstance connected with the above paragraph is this:—*Chatham did not say one word for or against the Stamp Act while Grenville was minister.* We doubt, indeed, whether he was present in the House from February, 1764—when "he left," being too ill "to stay for the division"—to the 14th of January 1766, when, months after Rockingham had been appointed minister, he made his celebrated "no confidence" speech. On that occasion he alluded to his long absence, and expressed his deep regret that he had not been present when the Stamp Act was under consideration.—

"It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament. *When the resolution was taken in the House to tax America, I was ill in bed.* If I could have endured to be

carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on the floor, to have borne my testimony against it."—*Parliamentary History*, vol. cxvi. p. 98.

The question so far as Camden is concerned may be even more briefly disposed of. He was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the new writ was moved for on the 25th of January 1762; and he was *not raised to the Peerage until the 16th of July* 1765,—so that by no possibility could he have spoken on the subject. Indeed, he was not raised to the Peerage until Grenville had retired, and Rockingham "reigned in his stead."

Could any Minister or Minister's Secretary—or any leader of opposition—or any member of either House of Parliament —or any man belonging to any political party, or mixed up in the politics of the day, or even associating habitually with such parties or persons—have fallen into so gross a blunder respecting the conduct and proceedings of the two most remarkable men of the age, with reference to, as known in 1769, the most remarkable event of that age? Yet, important as this passage is towards enabling us to fix the position and the "order" to which Junius belonged, it has not, so far as we know, been noticed by any of the many editors from 1772 down to Mr. Wade.

Here we shall conclude,—and wait patiently for the revelation in the second volume to see how these and a hundred other mysteries are to be solved. As to the "new Essay on the Authorship," we shall be agreeably surprised if Mr. Wade has anything "new" to tell us. His own impression as to the authorship is, he says, strong,—and "based," he thinks, "on adequate testimony." With his first volume before us, we can have no hope but that when his hero and his arguments shall appear, the one will turn out to be an old friend without a new face, and the other a new version of an old story. Probably, as such is the current popular belief, we may have an essay in favour of the claims of Sir Philip Francis, condensed from "Junius Identified,"—with such additional anecdotes as have become current since 1818.

Junius. By John Wade. Vol. II. Containing the Private and Miscellaneous Letters, and a New Essay on the Authorship. Bohn.

Mr. Wade has had the modesty and good sense to eat his leek and hold his tongue; and we are therefore saved from the necessity of entering into any elaborate criticism on the demerits of this the concluding volume. He says—what we should never have suspected—that "the labour and anxiety bestowed on the present volume have been very considerable;" —which, however, may be true, for it depends on the amount of knowledge that he possessed when he entered on the duties of his office. He certainly appears to have sought for information—from others; we wish he had hunted a little more diligently himself. The commonest sources of information have not been consulted,—the slightest examination has not been made. He has not even compared Good's edition of the Miscellaneous Letters with the originals in the *Public Advertiser*, but has reproduced them with all their errors, even the typographical:—nor has he compared one page of his own volume with another.

Respecting the "Miscellaneous Letters," he tells us that they are not all "believed to be from the pen of Junius; and in the notes it has been attempted to distinguish such as are indisputably his from those which cannot be affiliated with certainty." After such an announcement, the reader, perhaps, will be more surprised than we were to find that Mr. Wade says not one word—hazards not a conjecture—for or against the authenticity of about three-fourths of these letters. On all questions of interest he is silent. He puts in no claim for "the bays" which we promised him if he would solve the mystery about "C." On occasions, however, he is profound and conclusive:—as when he observes that a letter "may or may not" have been written by Junius; on other occasions he is a little obscure:—as when we are told that "the first authentic public letter of Junius is dated January 21, 1769,"

though amongst the "Miscellaneous Letters" are two signed Junius, one dated the 21st of November, the other the 15th of December, 1768,—and of the authenticity of these Mr. Wade has "no doubt." Other letters, again, he pronounces to be genuine on the authority of the date of one or other of the private letters,—but he has not answered our question as to the authority for the dates of these "private letters." He does not, indeed, appear to be in the least degree the wiser for our hint that some of them are manifestly wrong; and perhaps will not be so for our assurance that the dates of nineteen-twentieths—we speak by the card, and are to be understood literally—were assigned conjecturally by Mr. George Woodfall and Dr. Good more than forty years after they were written. This, it is true, was not done without consideration and investigation; but still Good and Woodfall might err,—and we are prepared with proof that they did err. How much it is to be regretted that this fact was not mentioned in Good's 'Preliminary Essay,'—what an amount of profitless and ridiculous speculation would thereby have been saved! Still, though Mr. Wade knows nothing, he has had the faith shaken out of him by the *Athenæum*, and gives up "Poplicola"—"Anti-Sejanus, jun."—the indisputable "Correggio," authenticated by the celebrated "C." in the notice to correspondents—"Downright," for insufficient reasons—"Bifrons," as "spurious"—and even "Atticus," as "improbable." We suspect, however, that these particular letters are not got rid of because Mr. Wade has any especial doubts as to their authenticity, but because the opinions thereon advanced run counter to his theory as to the authorship.

The claim to attention which Mr. Wade seems to put forth prominently in favour of this edition is, the Index.—

"The Index has derived *considerable advantage* from Sir Harris Nicolas's labours, and is, in consequence, *much enlarged;* the research occasioned by the operation of blending his materials with our own, has led us to discover *the curious fact*, that in the previous edition of Junius, published by Woodfall, the name of Sir Philip Francis *is entirely excluded*

from the Index, which is *the more remarkable*, as in other respects it is *singularly minute*."

We shall not trouble Mr. Wade to explain how an Index can receive "considerable advantage" from being "much enlarged" when it was already "singularly minute;" and we will assume that he means simply "omitted" when he states that Francis's name was "entirely excluded" from the Index; a distinction not without a difference in reference to this Junius question,—as an anecdote will illustrate. Many years since, the booksellers published an edition of Junius with portraits; and in a stray copy which reached America it happened that the portrait of Lord Temple faced the title-page. This gave rise to an octavo volume by a Mr. Newhall, wherein he undertook to prove that Lord Temple was Junius, acknowledging at the same time, that he should never have suspected Temple but for this very significant hint. Now, if Mr. Wade's "curious fact," "more remarkable" and "entirely excluded," be allowed to pass without comment, it will be thought not merely a significant, but a conclusive hint, by all the Newhalls, equally in the Old World and in the New. We submit, then, for Mr. Wade's consideration, whether the insertion of Francis's name in that very imperfect Index would not have been much more curious than its omission; seeing that Francis is only once, and then incidentally, mentioned in one of the "Miscellaneous Letters,"—and that no speculator on the subject of Junius had ever thought of Francis until, as Mr. Wade himself tells us, that edition was published! Mr. Wade, we think, must admit, too, that this omission is not a more "curious fact" than the omission of the names of such men as the Marquis of Rockingham, Halifax (Secretary of State), Sir Fletcher Norton, Col. Barré, Mr. Wedderburne, Serjeant Leigh, Lord Littleton, Alderman Oliver, Mr. Calcraft, and some dozen more, all of as much importance as a clerk in the War Office. It is not a more "curious fact" than the omission of the names of the writers of the miscellaneous letters:—of "Vindex," "Recens," "Q in the Corner," "Anti-Stuart,"

"Your Real Friend,"—left out also in Mr. Wade's "much enlarged" Index.

As to the "New Essay on the Authorship," we shall reserve what we have to say for the present, having received a pamphlet on the subject written by Sir Fortunatus Dwarris; and as both gentlemen fight under the same banner, advocate essentially the same claims, are both "Franciscans,"—we think it better to discuss the question generally. Enough now to observe, that Mr. Wade has exactly fulfilled our prophecy:—his hero turns out to be Sir Philip Francis, the "old friend *without* a new face";—and his arguments "are condensed from 'Junius Identified,' with such additional anecdotes as have become current since 1818."

From the *Athenæum*, Sept. 7, 1850.

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, AND HIS CLAIMS TO BE CONSIDERED THE WRITER OF THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS.

Some New Facts and a suggested New Theory as to the Authorship of the Letters of Junius. By Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, Knt. Privately Printed.

The History and Discovery of Junius. By John Wade.—*Junius.* 2 vols. Bohn.

Sir Fortunatus Dwarris and Mr. Wade have both pronounced judgment in favour of Sir Philip Francis; and both, following the example of more distinguished persons, are so positive—assume the question to be so conclusively proved—that we might have been startled into silence had we not after an attentive perusal of their several works come to the conclusion that they know no more of the subject than a Chief Justice or an Ex-Chancellor. Lord Campbell has recorded the opinion of the Queen's Bench; and Mr. Wade tells us, that an "eminent Judge of the Common Pleas, Sir Vicary Gibbs, affirmed after the perusal of Mr. Taylor's book, that if the case had been argued before him as a Judge in a trial for libel, he should have directed the jury to find Sir Philip Francis

guilty." Exactly the same judgment is said to have been pronounced by Lord Ellenborough,—and, Mr. Barker tells us, by Lord Erskine: and the review of 'Junius Identified' in the *Edinburgh* having been attributed to Mackintosh, to Brougham, and to Macaulay, three more Judges or ex-Judges are said to concur in the opinion pronounced by "Brother Gibbs."—Now, as we have said, Sir Fortunatus Dwarris—ex-Colonial Judge —and Mr. Wade, "author," as we learn from his title-page, of 'The Cabinet Lawyer,' record their agreement in the ruling of the Courts. One of these learned gentlemen has even asserted that "the cumulative proofs [have] reached the extreme limits of circumstantial testimony,"—and that "it is as certain that Sir Philip Francis was Junius as anything human can be." After this, it would be mere surplusage to refer to the opinions of some half hundred unlearned laics. The Court of Chancery, the Court of Queen's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, the Colonial Courts, and, if not "The Council," "The Cabinet" are agreed,—and "there an end." It is true, these opinions have not been pronounced by the Judges with their wigs on,—and there may be something in the wig:—young Philpott says in 'The Citizen,' "I am as good a coachman as any in England *when I have my coachman's hat on.*" Then, no fees of Court have been paid; and there is a prevalent notion, all but a proverb, that what people get for nothing is generally good for nothing, and that the most worthless of all things is "the breath of an unfee'd lawyer." These are the opinions of the unlettered,—not of the *Athenæum*. All we ask is, leave to put the evidence on record, with a few words of explanation and elucidation for the satisfaction of the public and the justification, if that may be, of "the Judges."

The better and more simple plan will be to separate the facts generally admitted, not as literally but as substantially true, from those which are merely speculative or conjectural, whether probable or improbable. Some of our readers, we suspect, will be startled when they see in what a brief bald paragraph the former may be comprised.

From a memoir—*the* memoir, it is called—published in the *Mirror* in 1810, we learn that Sir Philip Francis was born in

Dublin, on the 22nd of October, 1740,—that in 1750 he came to England,—in 1753 was placed at St. Paul's School, where Sampson Woodfall was also educated,—and in 1756 was appointed by Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, to "a little place" in the Secretary of State's office,—that Mr. Pitt, who succeeded Mr. Fox, patronized and encouraged him, and through his kindness Francis, in 1758, went out as Secretary to Gen. Bligh, and was present at the attack on Cherbourg,—that in 1760, by the favour of the same person, he was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Kinnoul, ambassador to Lisbon,—that on his return he continued to serve in the Secretary of State's Office under Lord Egremont, until in 1763 he was, by Mr. Welborne Ellis, appointed to a place in the War Office, which he retained for nine years, but resigned early in 1772, in consequence of a difference with Viscount Barrington, then Secretary at War,—that he spent part of the year 1772 in travelling through Germany, Italy, and France,—and that subsequently he was recommended by Viscount Barrington to Lord North,—by whom in 1773 he was nominated one of the Members of the Council of Bengal.

On these few facts—indeed on something less—has been raised the speculative superstructure which is held by so many learned and unlearned persons to be conclusive proof that Sir Philip Francis was Junius. Facts, however, are beginning to accumulate. Sir Fortunatus Dwarris tells us that Francis and Woodfall were "in the same form,"—and Lady Francis says that her husband won the gold medal:—things both possible, and even probable,—but not known before, and not now known at St. Paul's School.

Primâ facie was there ever a more improbable conjecture than that this clerk in the War Office was the writer of the Letters of Junius? The *Athenæum* has, indeed, removed some stumbling-blocks, which it was impossible for common sense to get over, by clearing away the rubbish of the "Miscellaneous Letters;" still there remains the one astounding assumption, that this office-bred boy, this office-fed man, this clerk who had married early, and had already a wife and large family and no other dependence than the salary of his office, should

hazard everything, his and their means of support and future hopes, that he might indulge his public spirit or private hatred week after week, month after month, year after year, in a series of outrageous attacks on those above him, on those associated with him, on the Government and on the Sovereign, without a chance in his favour of conciliating thereby any person or party, or winning even empty fame:—for, as to the reward which is assumed to have followed, it could never have been hoped for either from "the honour and generosity" as it is called, or the meanness and cowardliness, as we should call it, of Lord Barrington, or of any other English minister or English gentleman,—it was not indeed within the range of a sane man's possible expectations. Observe, too, that this same clerk was, on the assumption, no more to be influenced by private and personal obligations, by gratitude, than by interest or official decency; for Francis, as shown, was indebted for the very situation which he held when he is said to have written these Letters to the kindness of Mr. Welborne Ellis; whom Junius holds up to the most withering contempt,—as "little Mannikin," "Grildrig," "Guy Faux," "the most contemptible little piece of machinery in the whole kingdom,"—for no good or great purpose, indeed, no purpose whatever, but that of wantonly insulting him.

Junius, too, be it observed, continues his outrages so long as Francis remains in office,—so long as there was a ruinous penalty which, at their mere will and pleasure, it was in the power of the insulted to inflict on him, his wife and children; but after Francis retired from office or was turned out,—Junius is silent and for ever. Mr. Taylor draws emphatic attention to this fact in proof that Francis was Junius! This, he says, is certain, "that all regular intercourse between Junius and the public ceased from the moment that Sir Philip lost his place; and *thus* a sympathy is established between them." What this means we are at a loss to conjecture:—but we must observe that Junius had ceased all regular intercourse with the public *before* Francis lost his place. What if he had not?—things coincident are not consequent. Had the exact reverse been true, had Junius appeared when Francis was turned or

apparently some doubt; for in April, 1796, when he brought forward his motion for 'The Registration of Slaves,' he alludes to the old question about the right of the mother country to make laws to bind the Colonies, first raised, and with startling novelty, by Chatham, in 1766. "The question," he said, "is not new to me. What I know of it is not derived from study and reflection, * * but from the wisdom of great men whom I have known. * * Though too young to take part, I was old enough to observe, and I had access to some of the greatest sources of instruction." Is it likely that thirty years after Francis would be so critical and discriminating, and help to set up such a distinction between the Francis of 1766 and the Junius of 1768-9. At any rate the proposition, being general, can be applied with no more force to Sir Philip Francis than to any of the many thousands of that age then living. The next "coincidence" is of a like character.—"From 1763 to 1772 Sir Philip was in the War Office, and must have resided near London: and *it was during that period that all* the letters ascribed to Junius were published." This, again, is true of every other clerk in the War Office,—of every clerk in every office in London,—and possibly of some fifty thousand other persons.

We have other and still more curious examples of how to build up evidence from mere inferences, and how to give a special application to the vaguest generalities. Some speculators on the subject of Junius have come to the conclusion that he was an Irishman,—others, strange as it may appear, that he was a Scotchman,—though Junius himself said that he was an Englishman, and formally in his 'Dedication to the English Nation.' Such diversities of opinion are difficulties in the way of each other. But a single bound carries one Franciscan clean over England and Scotland, and plants Junius at once on the Green Isle as an Irishman,—and we have hints that Burke was *therefore*, and from the first suspected. Is it not more probable that Burke, being from the first suspected, Junius was therefore assumed to be an Irishman,—"the ex-jesuit Edmund"? Still, if Junius *were* Irish, we have not got at his identity:—for all the Burkes were Irish,—and Boyd,

and Flood, and Lauchlin Macleane, and Grattan, and Barré, and others, to whom the Letters have been attributed, were Irish,—and Lord George Sackville, Mr. Coventry's Junius, was brought up in Dublin, and educated at Dublin University. Well, with another bound, Mr. Taylor has cleared all these:—and *then* the connexion of Francis "with the sister country" becomes a "*remarkable peculiarity*,"—and "the slightest peculiarities" of expression "are explained by the life of Sir Philip Francis,"—who, we may remind the reader, was the son of a highly-cultivated scholar, left Ireland before he was ten years of age, lived in London or its neighbourhood, was educated at St. Paul's School, and was trained and disciplined, at least in plain English, in Government offices up to thirty years of age. Such arguments, it is true, are not worth much; but *the impressions* which they produce are worth something. What we want are specific facts, which apply to Francis and to Junius, and to no other party. Our readers will rejoice to hear that the next "coincidence" assumes to have this special character.

From March 23rd "till *May 4th*, 1772, Mr. Woodfall received no communication from Junius. Coincident with this interval is the fact, that Dr. Francis was ill at Bath, and *it is likely* that Sir Philip went to see him before going abroad."

Had Mr. Wade only cast an eye down the very page from which he quotes, he would have seen that the following letter is dated the 3rd of May, and that the letters ought to have been transposed:—a fact of no consequence, except in proof of habitual carelessness. But where did Dr. Good get the date of the 3rd of May? The reader will say, as Mr. Wade and every other reader and writer has assumed,—he found it prefixed to the letter. No such thing:—the only date to the letter is "*Sunday*," and that is suppressed by Good. But the writer of the letter says therein—

"The enclosed is fact, and *I wish it could be printed to-morrow. It is not worth announcing.* The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable." "Next to the D. of G——n, I verily believe that the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Bn."

Is the reader, from this extract, better able to say on what "Sunday," in what month, in what year, that letter was written? Presumptively, and from the circumstance that "Veteran" then opened his fire against Lord Barrington, we should say in 1772; and as *all* "Veteran's" letters were *announced* the day before, *except* the one published on *Monday* the 23rd of March, we may not unreasonably conclude that this private note was written on "*Sunday*" *the 22nd of March*, and that the inclosure was the letter of "Veteran" published the next day. But the authenticity of the letters of "Veteran" was thought to be proved by other evidence; and as a letter was found in the *Public Advertiser* of the 4th of May signed "Scotus," Good added "Scotus" to the Miscellaneous Letters, positively changed the date "Sunday" to "3rd May, 1772," and then tells the reader—

"This note *accompanied the letter signed 'Scotus,'* &c., and *was printed as requested.*"

Of course Mr. Wade follows in the wake of Good; and is so pleased to communicate this information, that he stamps it with his own hall mark.

"*It is almost needless to add* that *Scotus is Junius. This letter is referred to in private note*, ante, p. 59.—*Ed.*"

Enough has been said of the daring of Good, and its consequences; and we will only add a word or two in proof of the carelessness of all parties. Good's statement is, that the inclosure was the letter of "Scotus"; and as he was pleased to date the private letter the 3rd, and as "Scotus" was published on the 4th, the reader was to infer that the request in the private note was complied with, and that "Scotus" was "published to-morrow" without "announcing." Now a simple reference to the *Public Advertiser* would have proved to Mr. Wade that the letter of "Scotus" *was announced on the 3rd*, —must therefore have reached the printer on the 2nd, and could not have been inclosed in any letter dated 3rd of May. —What now becomes of the visit of the son to the sick father *made manifest in the "coincidence" of the dates of these*

private letters and the absence from London of both Junius and Francis?

The reader will probably be more indignant than we are at the proceedings of the editors of the edition of 1812 in tampering with dates:—a fact so incredible that no one seems for a moment to have suspected it, although the slightest examination would have offered proof. Let us, however, be charitable in our construction of motives. We are willing to believe that it was done in simplicity,—and that dates were affixed not without consideration. It is to be regretted, however, that no hint of the fact was given to the public; that, with a consciousness that these dates were merely conjectural, they are throughout the "Preliminary Essay" and the Notes treated as conclusive evidence, and as if they had been affixed by Junius himself.

There is, however, another "coincidence" in another Bath visit, of which, strange as it may appear, Mr. Wade takes no notice, although found in a note contributed by his publisher, Mr. Bohn, (p. 87)—

"'There are no letters of Junius under any of his signatures between December 17 and January 6,'—and when Sir Philip Francis's library was sold in 1838, there was found in a copy of 'Junius Identified' a letter dated 'Bath, Thursday morning, Dec. 20, 1771,' addressed to his wife, announcing his arrival in Bath 'last night.' It refers to the very feeble and helpless condition of his father, who had summoned the writer to his bedside." *

The dates affixed to the letters of 17th Dec. and 6th Jan. may, we believe, be received as sufficiently accurate; but who shall say that not one of the other fifty-five or sixty published private letters—not one of probably double that number neither published nor perhaps preserved—were written in the interval?

* "I saw Sir Philip's library not long after his death. I looked very anxiously for a copy of Junius's Letters, and at last found one of the most recent editions of that work, with a few annotations in pencil, but of a common-place kind, and not very likely to have been written by the Auto-Junius."—Fellowes in Barker, p. 267.

There are some letters, we believe, preserved, though never published, which probably passed early, as curious autographs, from the Woodfall family. We have shown that the Editors of the edition of 1812 were in error by probably six weeks in affixing a date to the private letter No. 61 [3 May]; there is therefore something more than a probability that there are other errors—we know there are, but have proved enough for our present purpose. But what startles us in respect to this assumed second Bath visit—which, observe, proves nothing if true—is, the accident by which the coincidence became known. Here is another question to be answered by those skilled in the doctrine of chances:—what are the probabilities that a man seventy-five years of age would accidentally mark the place in a book, published in 1816 with a letter written in 1771, forty-four years before, to his first wife? What are the chances that having done so, he would leave it there all the remainder of his life? And, as an element in the calculation, it must be borne in mind that the book so marked was written expressly to prove what the old gentleman is said to have indignantly denied,—and that this marking letter is, or is thought to be, strong confirmation, if not conclusive evidence, of—the hypocrisy of his indignation and the falsehood of his repeated denials. All we can say is, that it was one of those curious 'accidents' which, in respect to Junius, happened to Francis and to no one else; proving, if it prove anything, that he was just as willing to "whisper his secret" to public as to wife,—or rather to confirm "the secret" which had been whispered to the public in 'Junius Identified.' We, however, have not seen this letter, and should much like to examine the date; for "*Bath, Thursday morning, Dec.* 20, 1771," seems to us very unlike the address that would be affixed to a letter written to his wife by a man who had only arrived the night before, summoned to the bedside of a sick father, proving, if admitted, how strong official habits had become in Francis,—and how unlike Junius, *who rarely affixed a date at all*, and in his most scrupulous moods seldom said more than "Monday" or "Tuesday," as the case might be.

On the "coincidences" of 1772 Mr. Taylor has a chapter

which Mr. Wade has obligingly condensed into a paragraph.—

"All the subsequent communications of Junius, both to the public and Woodfall, were concluded early in May, the last on the 12th. * * The next communication he [Woodfall] received from Junius was in January of the following year. * * With this suspension Sir Philip's tour *exactly tallies*."

Mr. Taylor has before told us (p. 49) that Sir Philip's departure and return, and the *dates* of the Letters "dovetailed" with the *minutest exactness:* that the letter [to Woodfall] is dated Jan. 19, 1773, "which corresponds with the time of Sir Philip's re-appearance in this country."

As the reader now knows, this whole argument rests on the infallibility of the Editors who affixed the dates to the Private Letters:—whose fallibility we have made, and could make much more, manifest. Even the date of this last letter, "*January* 19, 1773," which serves as the turning point for so many arguments, is not satisfactorily proved. Indeed, did not this review already threaten to exceed our usual limits, we would raise such objections as might puzzle half-a-dozen Franciscans to lay them. But waiving these, let us see how the "exactly tallies" of Mr. Wade agrees with the "dovetailing" of Mr. Taylor. From Mr. Taylor's assertion, we should infer that Junius [Francis] could not have arrived in London more than a week or ten days at farthest before he wrote to Woodfall, say on or after the 10th Jan. 1773:—but Mr. Wade, who has occasionally picked up a hint here and there without seeing its importance, tells us that Francis returned at the end of 1772 or beginning of 1773. This to our minds is a very rough sort of dovetailing,—not what we call "exact" agreement. But we believe there is written proof that Francis arrived in London or was in London in Nov. 1772;* and it happens, as is usual with the Francis coincidences, that a great many other people arrived in London about the same time, for Parliament opened on the 26th of No-

* His letter from Rome is dated 17th of October, 1772.

vember. So that, the coincidence seems on their own showing not to be exact, and on ours not to be special. Indeed, if the fact can be made to have any bearing at all on the question whether Francis was Junius, it is strong against the probability :—for is it likely that Junius, being in town in November or December, should take no notice of Woodfall's signals until the 20th of January?

The last of the personal coincidences is this—

"The circumstances in which Sir Philip was placed, by being dismissed from the War Office, *sufficiently explain why Junius left off writing.* Mr. Francis had two powerful reasons to forbear. *His personal interest in the question was entirely at an end*—and *the source from which he acquired his information was no longer open to him.*"

Why, Francis was dismissed, if dismissed at all, in March, 1772 :—Junius had brought his labours to a close on the 21st of January preceding,—and the paper pellets or rifle-shots fired by "Veteran," because the writer "had nothing better to do" than thus "to entertain himself and the public," had ceased on the 10th of March. What is meant by the "personal interest" of this clerk in the War Office being at an end, we must leave the sagacity of the reader to discover. As to the sources of information being shut against him—why, his dismissal only closed the doors of the War Office; and we are told that "Junius moved in the immediate circle of the Court" —"was intimately and confidentially connected, either directly or indirectly, with *all* the public offices"—we are expected to wonder at "the facility with which he becomes acquainted with every ministerial manœuvre, whether public or private, from almost the very instant of its conception"—at his "instantaneous and universal intelligence"—"the extraordinary nature, extent, and variety of his intelligence," (Taylor, p. 358)—his "knowledge of state secrets" even when confined to "the precincts of the palace." Junius was, we are told, "the central eye, to which converged the rays of right emitted from everything that moved in the political arena,"—and then we are expected to believe that Lord Barrington "put out the light,"

or put out "the eye," by turning a clerk out of the War Office! If so, what is the use of Sir Fortunatus Dwarris's "new theory," or Mr. Wade's old theory, or the theory of most people, that Junius had external aid? Why introduce as co-assistants Earl Temple, the Earl of Chatham, Lord George Sackville, all the Burkes, Lloyd, Boyd, Barré, Beckford, Calcraft, Sawbridge, and numberless others, if all the private information which is assumed to have been possessed by Junius,—though we deny it,—could have been—and was—obtained by a clerk in the War Office? Why complicate the *dram. pers.* by introducing so many principal personages to do nothing? If, on the contrary, all or any of these parties were co-assistants, how could turning a clerk out of the War Office affect the sources of intelligence—which lay, by the proposition, out of the War Office?

Respecting the retirement of Francis from the War Office, Sir F. Dwarris favours us with some new light. Francis "was dismissed," he tell us, "for disclosing its secrets to somebody in opposition." This is strange, if true:—the more strange, that it is, we believe, first published eighty years after the event. If he were turned out for conduct so disgraceful, how is it that the fact was not brought forward in 1787, when party interest and personal hatred sought everywhere for facts and circumstances that would prejudice his character,—and when Fox challenged his adversaries by telling them that Francis was sent out as one of the supreme court expressly because *his life was blameless and his reputation without a suspicion?* Contemporary accounts speak of his retirement,—of his having "resigned"; and we have been assured that there is evidence in existence, in Francis's own handwriting, showing that he was not merely not dismissed, but that he was offered D'Oyley's place, refused it, and resigned. It would, indeed, be strange if Lord Barrington, who had "dismissed" him for *betraying the secrets of office,* should within eighteen months have recommended him to so much higher and better a situation as that of one of the Council for the government of Bengal:—yet we are required to believe, not one but, *both* stories. One of them, the recommendation, we have Francis's authority for.

In the debate, April 19, 1787 (Parl. Hist. 26, 920–1) he said, "Before I was appointed to be his [Hastings's] colleague, in the government of Bengal, I stood well in the estimation of those who knew me. Lord Holland placed me in the Secretary of State's Office. I was favoured and protected there by Lord Chatham; and the late Earl of Egremont promised me preferment, if I would continue in his office. In the year 1763 my right hon. friend near me (Mr. Ellis) removed me to a considerable employment in the War Office. In the year 1773, my Lord Barrington, who succeeded him, recommended me to the noble lord (North) who was then at the head of the Administration, whose absence and the cause of it, I very sincerely lament. He accepted of the character he had received of me from the persons under whom I had served, from Mr. Ellis and Lord Barrington, and without any personal knowledge of me, recommended me to parliament."

On the fact—now for the first time made known—that Francis was dismissed for betraying the secrets of office, follows a conjecture as a matter of course,—and it is assumed as "most probable" that these secrets were communicated to Calcraft. We are somewhat puzzled to understand why, if Francis were Junius, he should risk the communication of these official secrets to Calcraft, that Calcraft might communicate them to Junius-Francis. But this is of the kind of the trifles that never stand in the way of a true Franciscan; and accordingly, no sooner is Calcraft thus strangely introduced than he takes a prominent part in the drama. We had supposed that this millionnaire—this army agent with his ninety regiments—whom Junius describes, in so *friendly* a spirit, as one who "riots in the plunder of the army, and only determined to be a patriot when he could not be a peer"—had been quietly interred with Ann Bellamy and his other immoralities.—But no:—he must be dragged forward once again to serve a Junius purpose; and yet, so entirely is he forgotten, that even the author of 'The Chronology of British History' describes him as "a veteran placeman," "confidential" and "political attorney" to Lord Chatham,—and we are told that he stood in the same relation to Chatham that Burke did to Rockingham, Gerard Hamilton

to Lord Townshend, and Mr. Jenkinson to the Earl of Bute! —Then, Mr. Wade proclaims, as something conclusive—"I will establish" that Calcraft and Francis "were intimate friends." Well, what then? Does that prove, or help to prove, that Francis was Junius? The public knew some eighty years since that there was a great, and under circumstances a somewhat disreputable intimacy between the army-agent and the reverend doctor; and Ann Bellamy told some amusing anecdotes of familiarities in private, and of the steeple-chase style in which the reverend escaped from her company when decent people made their appearance. But, say Mr. Wade and Sir F. Dwarris—for they agree, though both are in error—Calcraft added a codicil to his will on the day that Francis left the War Office, by which he bequeathed 1,000*l.* to Francis and 250*l.* a year to Mrs. Francis. And when was a millionnaire more likely to remember his poor friends than on an occasion like this? Calcraft was a man of enormous wealth, accumulated by his own exertions,—he had no hereditary claims on him,—no legitimate child to inherit after him; and he bequeathed his vast wealth to a brother, a sister, the woman who was living with him when he died, and some half-dozen children by possibly half as many different mothers. What is there, then, extraordinary if in his will he kindly remembered the son of his old friend, and his own friend, his wife and young family:—a man "very deserving," as Calcraft said of him in a letter to Almon written within a week or two of the date of the codicil? It is creditable to Calcraft,—but not tending to prove that Francis was Junius, or had the remotest connexion with Junius. — But neither "the whole truth" nor even "the truth" is told by either writer.

This codicil, in connection with other circumstances, opens a curious question; but, as we cannot admit that it bears on the only one under consideration, we shall touch on it briefly and tenderly. It is strange that these gentlemen should have picked up this story about the codicil, which was long since published, without having heard, what was also published, that Mrs. Francis was said to be "a connexion" of Calcraft's. Now, if so, that in itself may have suggested the codicil; and

it certainly does appear that the lady was the party especially considered,—for Calcraft did not, as these gentlemen assert, leave her an annuity of 250*l.* a year, but 200*l.* a year *conditionally* should she survive her husband and should her husband leave her less than 300*l.* a year. As the husband was the survivor, neither husband nor wife benefited one sixpence by the annuity—which was obviously given to the wife as a protection against casualties. This fact the new editor might have ascertained for himself for one shilling and a walk to Doctors' Commons; and it would not have been any large addition to his "great labours and anxieties."

We have now gone deliberately through the personal coincidences, and the reader will perhaps be amused with the summary of the latest editor:—"Just as Francis moves Junius moves, *like substance like shadow*. If Francis is in the country, Junius is away. [Junius's absence being most unwarrantably inferred from his silence,—and his silence from the dates affixed by Good and Woodfall to the private letters,—and the connexion of the two as "substance and shadow" is to be proved by very slight and very suspicious evidence tending to show that Francis was *once* absent when Junius was supposed to be silent.] If Francis is abroad, Junius is not heard of till his return. [Junius having closed his labours months before Francis is supposed to have gone abroad—and "Veteran" some time—and Francis having returned two months before Junius is supposed to be again heard of.] If Francis is aggrieved by abrupt dismissal from office, Junius suffers, and pours out the vials of his wrath against all the offending parties. [Even "Veteran" having emptied the last of his vials on the presumed offending parties before Francis was dismissed, if dismissed at all.] If Francis finally disappears from the scene to another hemisphere, Junius writes no more. [Junius having ceased to write for eighteen or twenty months before.] The Siamese twins were not more closely conjoined."

We come now to the last of the coincidences—the reports of Chatham's speeches: coincidences, we admit, of a very startling character,—which cannot be "whistled down the wind" or

laughed out of court like the previous absurdities.—But these we must reserve for a concluding notice.

From the *Athenæum*, September 21, 1850.

Concluding Notice.

We come now, and in conclusion, to the "coincidences" derived from certain facts or assumed facts relating to the Reports of Lord Chatham's Speeches in 1770 and 1771. Mr. Taylor tells us that the collateral testimony of these speeches alone "carries absolute conviction;" and we have heard that a like judgment has been pronounced within this twelvemonth by one of the most celebrated, certainly the most popular, of our historians. That Francis reported Chatham's speeches is considered so certainly proved, that Mr. Barker, who undertook in a volume of 576 pages to show that the facts in favour of Francis were not conclusive, admits the fact generally, and suggests in respect to the speeches as not improbable that Francis "was hired by Junius" to report them.—Certainly, if we were obliged to admit that Francis was the reporter of all the speeches attributed to him, we should welcome Mr. Barker's conjecture as less improbable than the assertion that Francis undertook so laborious a duty without being "hired."

Mr. Taylor, it appears, came at a knowledge of the curious fact that Junius-Francis was the reporter of Chatham's speeches from "internal evidence" alone; or, as we should say, by that perception or intuition which became so remarkable after his acquaintance with Mr. Du Bois,—for, but a short time before, when he cleared up "*all* the mysterious circumstances" in his 'Discovery,' he had not even a glimmering of this inner light. Then, we were told, as something quite conclusive, that "there is scarcely one peculiar expression in the whole of his [Dr. Francis's] Demosthenes and Horace of which an example cannot be found in the last edition of the works of Junius." The speeches of Chatham had not then suggested themselves,—they are not even mentioned throughout the pamphlet.

Suddenly, *ho, presto,* Horace and Demosthenes are clean gone —vanished; and we have page after page, chapter after chapter, of illustrations and coincidences from Chatham's speeches. This discovery having been once made, of course the field of its usefulness gradually enlarged. Speech after speech has been added; and it has, we believe, long been the undoubting faith of a true Franciscan that Junius-Francis reported all Chatham's speeches in 1770 and 1771,—to which Sir Fortunatus Dwarris now adds all Camden's and all Mansfield's,—and Mr. Wade contributes a modest trifle which, though a trifle, is more startling than the contributions of all others put together. "It is not improbable," he says, "that Sir Philip Francis *composed those speeches for Lord Chatham; he certainly composed many of Lord Chatham's speeches.*" After this, we have only to express a hope that Mr. Macaulay, who is understood to be a Franciscan, will denounce the "old man eloquent," as a mere impostor, who—having thundered in the Senate from the great Walpolian battles to the American war —was, after all, indebted for his very best speeches to a clerk in the War Office!—If the facts be admitted, we see nothing very illogical in Mr. Wade's conclusion.

The mere physical powers of man can never be allowed to stand in the way of a Junius theory: still, as curious in itself, we shall take leave to sum up the literary and other labours of this Francis-Junius. That he was a clerk in the War Office is certain; where, as we are told, he held a situation of great trust and responsibility, with heavy duties attached, requiring "almost constant attendance."* He was the writer of Junius's Letters, a good substantial addition, both of brain work and pen work; a labour which might seem to require a mind free, fresh, and at ease, able to devote itself, in heart, thought, and energy, continuously to the one all-engrossing subject,—not the wearied mind of a clerk in a public office, fevered and fretted by monotonous details, and tedious and wearisome trifling. Then, Dr. Good found out that the writer of Junius's Letters wrote also twice as many letters under other signa-

* Taylor, 360.

tures :—and we have to add, the laborious letters to Wilkes,—to say nothing of stray letters to Chatham, the Grenvilles, Woodfall, and others. Then Mr. Taylor discovered that he was a regular attendant in the Houses of Parliament—both Lords and Commons ; and we are told that he took elaborate and careful notes,—notes on occasions to an extent that would try the skill of the most experienced of our modern reporters : in brief, that for the session of 1770 and 1771 he reported all Chatham's, all Camden's, and all Mansfield's speeches. This is merely an "aside,"—as the dramatists would say.

The internal evidence to be deduced from the Speeches themselves we shall, as before, leave to the illuminati, and concern ourselves with only the external. Perhaps the best way will be to state the case in the words of a Franciscan. It is assumed that neither Junius nor Francis was in Parliament, yet both, we are told,—

"Frequented the gallery [!] of the House of Commons in 1770 and 1771, and both took notes of the same speeches at the same time and in the same words. *It is next to impossible to account for such singular correspondences, except by concluding that the two were one and the same person. The most striking proof of this conformity is contained in the speech of Lord Chatham at the opening of the session in January*, 1770 ; *this speech was reported by Sir P. Francis, who communicated it* FIRST *to Almon*, who published it in 1791 in his life of Lord Chatham, and *then* to Hansard's Parliamentary History. The publisher of the latter work informed Mr. Taylor that he received the speech from Sir Philip, who was present at the debate. Now, a comparison of the reported speech with *some of Junius's Letters* proves that either Junius *must have heard the speech and taken notes of it, or received notes from somebody who was present ;* and not only so, but that the notes which he took or received were nearly the same with those *taken by Sir P. Francis.*"

That Junius "*must* have heard the speech and taken notes of it, or received notes from somebody who was present," is, we submit, begging the question. He may—we merely hint

at a possibility—*he may* have read a report in the newspapers. Impossible, says Mr. Taylor.—

"If" I "could have found the speech [still more strongly, if he could have found the speeches] *reported in other words*, but the *same in substance*, the resemblance might perhaps have been accounted for; but *in the absence of all such aids*, to approach so nearly to the language of a report *not printed* (though preserved *in notes*) *till twenty years after*, can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that he who took the notes was himself the writer of the Letters."

As the case is here stated, it is certainly very startling: —but did Mr. Taylor expect to find what he never looked for? If he did seek to find these other "aids," still his ill success was no proof that what he sought for did not exist, or had not existed? But we do not believe that either Mr. Taylor, or the law dignitaries, or Sir F. Dwarris, or Mr. Wade, or any of the many who, in American phrase, have "indorsed" Mr. Taylor's volume, have ever sought to test the accuracy or inaccuracy of these assertions. It would be no light labour, we admit: the facts are not so easy of proof or disproof as a reader of 1850 may suppose. We who have sought for them, even by public advertisement, have never yet been able to meet with copies from 1769 to 1772 of the *Morning Chronicle*, —early and long celebrated for its reports,—of the *Morning Herald*, the *Morning Post*, the *Public Ledger*, or the *London Packet*. The *Times* was not then in existence. As to the *Public Advertiser*, Sampson Woodfall's paper, the editor, who had two or three prosecutions on his hands, thought it best to follow the advice of Junius—"avoid prosecutions if you can; but above all things, avoid the Houses of Parliament; there is no contending with them,"—and therefore its reports are brief and exceptional, even for that brief and exceptional period. The absence, then, of all "the aids" which Mr. Taylor required, is not, as the reader might suppose, the absence of reports in the newspapers, whether in "other words" or not —but *the absence of the newspapers themselves*.—But let us proceed to consider the evidence on which it is so confidently

asserted that Francis-Junius, or Junius-Francis, was the Reporter.

Almon, in his 'Anecdotes of Chatham,' published in 1791-2, gives a report of Chatham's speeches—for he made more than one—on the opening of the session, 9th January, 1770; and he says, "they are accurately taken by a gentlemen of *strong memory*, now a member of the House of Commons, and from *his Notes* they are here printed." * Almon further mentions, that the reports of Chatham's speeches on the 22nd of the same month were printed from the "notes of the same gentleman"! So stood the facts until 1813,—when a note appeared in the 'Parliamentary History,' attached to Chatham's speech on 'The Falkland Islands' question, wherein the editor (the late Mr. Wright) said, "This speech of the Earl of Chatham *was taken* by the gentleman alluded to at pp. 647 and 741,"—that is, by Almon's "gentleman" who reported the speeches of the 9th and 22nd of January—and "has been revised by him for this work"; and Mr. Wright acknowledged, on being put to the question, that "the gentleman [he] alluded to" was Sir Philip Francis. Now, unless there had been some whispering to "reed" Wright, how could he possibly know that Francis was "the gentleman" who three-and-twenty years before had furnished to Almon, long dead, the speeches of the 9th and 22nd of January? How, again, did or could Wright know that this speech on 'The Falkland Islands' "was taken" forty-three years before by Francis? The reader will naturally suppose that he was led to this conclusion by the fact that the speech had not been printed before—not printed "till" 1813. No such thing:—if he will read Wright's statement carefully, what Francis is said to have done is to have "revised" the speech,—and a report made to us, after careful examination, says that there was no "revision." Except that here and there "upon" is changed into "on,"—and not always correctly,—the speech is printed verbatim, though with singular carelessness, from the edition published by Almon in 1791-2. This previous publication in 1791-2, Mr. Taylor

* Qy. Was *the* Mr. Mackintosh referred to by Almon (Anecdotes, ii. 98) an *M.P.* in 1790. I do not find *any* Mackintosh in that Parliament.

admits; and he founds thereon most serviceable arguments. We request the reader's attention to the inferences deduced therefrom. Wright's statement, it appears is *good evidence* that *Francis furnished the original notes to Almon!*—and Almon's silence is *proof* that Almon "studiously concealed" the name *of Francis!* Almon "returns thanks to several gentlemen by name" but "says not one word about Sir Philip Francis!" The result is,—"this at least is *certain*—that on a great political question [the Falkland Islands] which Junius vigorously engaged in, &c., *the only debate on record* is most extensively and ably reported by Sir Philip Francis!"—We shall have something to say about this "certainty" hereafter. —Further, we are told that it is "morally impossible" that any other man could be the reporter"—"impossible" otherwise to account for such "singular correspondences." Now, is it not strange that so obvious a fact should never have struck Almon himself? It is like the *non*-discovery at the War Office. Almon was a great writer and speculator about Junius, —he published an edition with notes—maintained an angry controversy with William Woodfall on the subject,—and yet this "moral impossibility" never once crossed his mind. It never once suggested to him that Junius was no other than "the gentleman" reporter:—and he went down to the grave doggedly and stupidly maintaining that Boyd was Junius.

Having once got a starting-point, all goes on swimmingly. A speech of Chatham on the 2nd of February, Almon acknowledges that he copied from the *London Museum*; but Almon was a dull fellow, and could not see what was so obvious from "internal evidence," that this also was reported by Junius-Francis:—and of this of course there can be no doubt "when it is considered that *from Sir Philip Francis* were received *the two full reports preceding* and one *still longer immediately following*"—and one longer than all put together, "On the Seizure of the Falkland Islands," a report that occupies "thirty-seven octavo pages!" Pretty well for the "'prentice hand" of a volunteer in his first session!

Such arguments and such proofs having passed unquestioned for five-and-twenty years, strengthened by the echo in the

Edinburgh and by Mr. Taylor's assurance that Francis as a reporter "had no competitor,"—although there were many contemporary reporters—reporters after the fashion of that day—and not one of his contemporaries, so far as we know, ever heard of this clerk in the War Office as a reporter—the editors * of 'The Chatham Correspondence' (the grandsons of Chatham and, therefore, a strong confirmative authority in the public judgment, although in truth no authority at all) pronounce briefly and dogmatically that Junius was Francis; and that Francis was not only the reporter of the above speeches, —but (according to our memory) of all Chatham's speeches throughout at least two sessions:—adding this fractional something or nothing to the above no-testimony (4-196)—"In Sir Philip Francis's copy of Belsham's 'History of Great Britain,' vol. 5, p. 298, sold at Evans's in February, 1838, there appears the following manuscript note—'I wrote this speech for Lord Mansfield as well as all those of Lord Chatham on the Middlesex election.—P. F.'"

Here again we may observe, that as Francis knew the inferences which Mr. Taylor had drawn from "internal evidence" and assumptions on this subject, the "accident" of this note is another proof of "reed" whispering.—But let us confine ourselves to the facts.

It would be laughable under other circumstances to see what rubbish, when it suits a purpose, is said to have been the "report of a speech." A reader of the present day can have no conception of it:—but we shall shortly have occasion to submit a specimen. Almon for two or three years reported the Debates for the *London Evening Post*,—and flattered himself they were done with extreme accuracy. Indeed, as he tells us, he took great pains to insure accuracy;—not by attending "the gallery" and taking notes, which would have been a hazardous experiment,—but by calling on the parties to whom he was known, asking questions of others, and collecting information from members and political gossips who frequented his shop. Such perfection, indeed, did he arrive

* Qy. Was not Wright the true editor of the Chat. Corr.?

at in this odd way, that the proprietors of the *St. James's Chronicle* became alarmed, and employed a rival collector who went down every day to the Houses, and got information direct from the fountain-head :—that is, from the door-keepers and other attendants ! In such a state of reporting Chatham could fare no better than his contemporaries ; and Thackeray, his biographer, says honestly that the reports of Chatham's speeches were often so bad, that it was necessary either to omit them altogether or *to remodel and retouch them.* Now, of those speeches of Chatham's on the Middlesex Election, "all" of which "P. F." says "I wrote "—the "innuendo" which perhaps mystified Mr. Wade,—the first was made on the 2nd of February, and was *re*-printed by Almon in 1792, from *The London Museum* for March, 1770, p. 142, — more than twenty years before ; and Almon adds, "it is not known that any other account of this debate was taken." So that, if "P. F." did report this speech, it was not for his old schoolfellow's paper,—not for Junius's *Public Advertiser*, but for *The London Museum.* The report, too, such as it was, was not a report of Chatham's speech,—but of the debate ; and Lord Sandwich is reported at greater length than Chatham. Chatham's *three speeches* together occupy about *one page of* the Parliamentary History. On the 1st of May, under another form, the question was again raised ; and the report of Chatham's speech occupies another *page*,—both Mansfield and Camden being reported at greater length. On the 14th, Chatham moved to address the King to dissolve Parliament ; one strong ground being the assumed fact, that after the decision of the House of Commons in respect to the election for Middlesex, the House was no longer the representative of the people. As Chatham's speech is the only one reported, it may be thought that "P. F.'s" note has especial reference to it : — the report occupies *eight lines.* On December 5th, Chatham made another substantive motion on the subject. The report of the Debate in the Parliamentary History is avowedly taken from *The London Magazine*, and Chatham's speech occupies little more than *half a page*,—Mansfield, Camden, and Grafton being all reported at greater length.

We submit, that there is nothing here beyond the possible powers of the Collectors, or the door-keepers and their friend. If the report of a debate which begins early, and is continued half through the night, is to be comprised within a space varying from eight lines to three or four octavo pages, it may be done by any man,—and it is not necessary to call in the especial assistance of "P. F.", or of Junius.

But there is the speech on "The Seizure of the Falkland Islands." How often have we regretted that from the loss of all the great reporting newspapers, the ingenious argument founded on this celebrated speech must remain without corroboration; that we could have no proof that this speech, which Francis is said, though erroneously, to have revised for the 'Parliamentary History'—the speech which furnishes such singular coincidences and fills thirty and odd octavo pages,—this "morally impossible" speech—was "for the first time," and from "a manuscript report," printed by Almon in 1791-2. The fact would be conclusive; all the arguments depend, all the superstructure rests on it: Mr. Taylor's words are "*not printed, though preserved in notes, till twenty years after.*" Research for any speech, under the circumstances, seemed hopeless,—but for one that filled thirty and more octavo pages, in chance newspapers that often dismissed a whole debate in a column, the idea appeared absurd. Still, not being Franciscans—not having undertaken to edit an edition of Junius—we thought it our duty to turn over the few odd volumes of newspapers which are to be found in the Museum,—and will now give our readers the benefit of a morning's labours. The following advertisement may serve as an introduction:—

HOUSE OF LORDS.

ON Monday morning, at 10 o'clock, will be published in a NORTH BRITON EXTRAORDINARY (containing Three Sheets, price Sixpence,)

Lord Chatham's Speech in the HOUSE OF LORDS on Thursday last, taken verbatim.

We scarcely need add, that on Monday morning, the 3rd of December, 1770, the *North Briton Extraordinary* was published,

and that it contains the report of Chatham's speech on "the seizure of the Falkland Islands" word for word as afterwards re-published by Almon in 1791-2 in "seven-and-thirty octavo pages," and as not "revised" by Francis for the 'Parliamentary History' published by Wright in 1813.* We will only add, in proof of the ill fortune of Mr. Taylor, Mr. Wade, and all Franciscans in not finding what they did not search for, that this speech was re-published *in full* on December the 4th and 6th in the *London Evening Post;* and as Almon was not only a reporter on that paper, but one of the proprietors, he may have known of its publication in his own paper, from which, in all probability, he copied it. This may explain his "mysterious silence"† as to the presumed obligations to Francis quite as satisfactorily as Mr. Taylor's ingenious hypothesis.

What now becomes of all the wonderful "correspondences": for we trust the Franciscans will not set the less value on our illustration because we have produced the report, not "in other words but the same in substance,"—but in the very words themselves, and "seven-and-thirty octavo pages" of them.

Thus encouraged, we determined to continue our researches a little longer. We soon got scent of the speech of the 9th of January. The *Middlesex Journal* announced that "all the speeches in both houses on Tuesday last were taken down in short-hand, so that we may reasonably expect that some of them will speedily make their way to the press." We take this "short-hand" assertion to be a mere flourish; but though we have not met with a full report of the debate, we have stumbled on such evidence as leads to the conclusion that it was published probably in one or other of the reporting journals which are now lost. Thus, we find the more celebrated passages from Chatham quoted, and the quotations separated by

* It was published or republished in a separate pamphlet, of which I have a copy. Pamphlets, 1770.

† The writers on Junius—

—see in darkest night
Like owls, *though purblind in the light.*—
HUDIBRAS, c. i. line 557.

lines of asterisks,—showing that the passages were copied from a more full report. We have the comparison of "the iron barons" and "the silken barons" in almost all of them,—the reference to and quotations from Robertson's 'History of Charles the Fifth,'—the passage about liberty spreading like a vine from this country to the colonies,—that about popular tumults being "ebullitions of liberty, breakings out on the skin of the body politic, which, if rudely restrained and improperly checked, may strike inwardly, and endanger the vitals of the constitution":—a favourite "coincidence" with all Franciscans from Taylor to Wade.

See also the *Independent Chronicle*, 13th to 15th—a somewhat different version given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1770. Were the two and others added together to make up Almon's report? See and compare another version in the *Public Advertiser* of January 23rd. There is a report in the *North Briton* of January 27th, which thus refers to Chatham's speech:—"Lord Ch—h—m was the next nobleman that spoke, but *as the greatest and the best* part of what he said has already been *retailed* in the newspapers, we shall not repeat it." We also have a report of this speech given by Grattan. See Life by his Son, i. 232. It has much the appearance of being hurriedly taken down as spoken.

The speech of the 2nd of February Almon avowedly took from the *London Museum*,—and we may now put faith in his avowal: that of the 14th of March we found word for word, so far as our examination went, in the *Middlesex Journal*, those of the 1st of May and of the 4th of May verbatim in the *Independent Chronicle*. Of that delivered on the 5th of December there is a pretty full abstract in *Bingley's Weekly Journal*. What will the Franciscans say to this?

But the speech that comes before us in the most "questionable shape," so far as Junius is concerned, is that which Junius himself quoted in a note to his own edition (1772). On this Mr. Taylor observes:—

"A part of one of Lord Chatham's speeches, introduced in the Preface to the Letters, *was certainly reported from notes*

thus taken by Junius, who observes of it:—'The following quotation from a speech delivered by Lord Chatham *on the 11th of December*, 1770, *is taken with exactness*. The reader will find it curious in itself, and very fit to be inserted here.' *Long before this he* [that is, assuming that Junius wrote the article called 'Chapter of Facts'] had incorporated *the same extract* not only in substance, but almost word for word, in one of *the miscellaneous Letters*, dated the *14th of December, only three days after the debate had taken place*. But at that time *he* [the writer of 'Chapter of Facts'] did not give it as *a quotation from Lord Chatham's speech, nor was it distinguished by inverted commas*. It assumes only to be a faithful statement by the writer of 'what was the fact, and what was the irregularity of the proceeding [of Lord Mansfield] upon it.' In the end he says, 'I affirm, therefore, *with Lord Chatham*, that his conduct was irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented'; but this reference to Lord Chatham's opinion is not intended to lead any one to conclude that the whole of the passage was borrowed from him. Yet such was the case, according to the declaration of Junius above quoted: and the circumstance is worthy of remark, since it exhibits *a proof* that *Junius*, as before stated, availed himself of the sentiments of the leading orators, in order to enrich his own Letters; for which purpose *he* attended *the debates*, and for the sake of greater accuracy *was accustomed to take notes* of particular speeches. The day after Lord Chatham had delivered the preceding opinion on Lord Mansfield's conduct, 'the great Lord Camden addressed him in the following words.' Here *Junius* again quotes part of a speech, in which Lord Mansfield is challenged to name a day when his doctrines might be discussed. The passage *selected* is an amplification [by a writer signing himself Phalaris] of *what Junius* [No, 'Chapter of Facts'] had reported in substance two days after the event; and *in this, as in Lord Chatham's case, no other account had intervened from which it could be taken.*"

We shall not offer one word of comment on the petty larceny motives here assumed to have influenced Junius,—nor stop to inquire why Junius should steal from "leading orators" when he wrote the speeches of "the foremost man" amongst them

all;—but we will just direct attention to the triple character in which one poor personal pronoun is made to do duty on this occasion, as Junius, as Chapter of Facts, and as Phalaris. It is a bold, ingenious, and original way of drawing one inference from three assumptions. Further, we must observe, that all this assertion and assumption by Taylor relates to other assertions and assumptions by Good—to the "miscellaneous" rubbish which Good "pitch-forked" into the edition of 1812; and that there is no reason whatever to lead to the belief that Junius contributed the 'Chapter of Facts,' or wrote the letter signed "Phalaris." This premised, we will confine ourselves to the one question,—whether it is possible to find this speech reported either word for word, or "in other words but the same in substance," before its appearance in the 'Chapter of Facts.'

But we are stopped even at starting; for Mr. Taylor is wrong when he asserts that the 'Chapter of Facts' was published "two days" after the event,—misled, probably, by Junius, who was wrong when he stated that the debate took place on the 11th, for it took place on the 10th:—a curious mistake if Junius were the reporter, though not more so than our correction would be if he were the *only* reporter. This preliminary error corrected, we may add briefly, that *all else* that Mr. Taylor says is wrong—false in spirit and in fact; for we found a report containing the *very words* quoted emphatically by Mr. Taylor and by other Franciscans in the *London Evening Post* of Tuesday the 11th:*—that is, the very day after the debate, two days *before* the "Chapter" was published, and *six* before the appearance of the letter of "Phalaris." Here it is.—

"SUBSTANCE OF WHAT PASSED YESTERDAY IN A GREAT ASSEMBLY.—In consequence of what passed on Thursday last in the House of Commons, Lord Mansfield on Friday, gave notice, &c. &c. He made a poor, paltry, needless declaration that he had left a paper with the Clerk of the House; that the paper, &c. &c.—Lord Chatham rose, and observed, that the verdict of the jury

* Also I think verbatim in *Gazetteer* of 5th to 11th, showing a reporter between them.

in that case was *guilty of printing and publishing only;* that (if the newspapers told him true, for he had only newspaper information of that transaction,) two motions had been made in the Court upon the verdict; one was on behalf of the defendant, for an arrest of judgment—the other was on behalf of the prosecutor, to enter up the words of the verdict according to their legal import. How comes it then that the Judges, *who had nothing but the record before them,* and could not or ought not to consider anything else—I say, how comes it that the Judges, who ought not to give judgment upon anything but what is strictly, regularly, and legally before them—I say again, how comes it that the Judges *travelled out of the record* to give their judgment upon matters not contained in that record? The proceeding is IRREGULAR, UNPRECEDENTED, and EXTRA-JUDICIAL."

—Then follows an account of the Duke of Manchester's motion about the state of the national defences, and of the *row* in which it ended about "clear the House."

We will now quote the "report," as it is called, which appeared *two days after* in the 'Chapter of Facts,'—a report, which Mr. Taylor says significantly was not given "as a quotation" nor "distinguished by inverted commas."—

"The Right Honble. the Speaker of the House of Lords was pleased to summon all the Lords to attend on Monday last, on purpose to inform their Lordships collectively in what corner of the House each Lord separately might find waste paper for his necessary occasions.—N.B. It seems to be the fate of this unhappy paper (which always brings nasty ideas with it) to be produced in a most unseemly manner. In the Court of King's Bench, the introduction of it was allowed to be *irregular, unprecedented,* and EXTRA-JUDICIAL. In the House of Lords it was only silly and ridiculous. What a strange antipathy some men have to record! When they do not *erase,* they fairly take post and *travel out of it.*"

And this is the filthy, foolish stuff which we are told so confidently was a report by Junius of a speech by Chatham!—

Camden's speech* in like fashion was published in the newspapers the next day or the day after.

After this, we need not trouble the reader with the subsequent "amplification." Of course, if the truth of a speculation or a conjecture be assumed, inferences may be derived from it: add two such together, and the field for imagination,—or, as imaginative Franciscans call it, evidence,—enlarges in more than a proportional degree. There is, indeed, no limit to such fanciful reasoning—or proofs. But if the one original conjecture prove false, men of common sense will not trouble themselves with the hypothetical superstructure. In truth, however, although it suited Junius to make such slight alterations in the letter as would allow it to pass current as a speech, there was no "amplification" at all. "Phalaris" wrote a reply to "Nerva," who had addressed a letter to Chatham abusing him for his conduct in attacking Mansfield —quoting the words of the report† of what he said from probably the *London Evening Post*—and for his ignorance of law and of the *proceedings which took place in the courts of law* in respect to the trial. "Phalaris" defends Chatham,—accuses "Nerva" of ignorance of what had really taken place in the courts,—gives a report of the proceedings at "Nisi Prius," as he technically calls it,—defies any lawyer to contradict him,—and concludes thus: "I affirm with Lord Chatham that his [Mansfield's] conduct was irregular, extra-judicial, and unprecedented:"—words which, as it now appears, "Phalaris" as well as "Nerva" might have taken from the *Evening Post*, and probably did take from one or other of the newspapers.

Thus, all the arguments which have been drawn from the similarity of phrases and passages found in the Letters and the Speeches, and which were held conclusive because the speeches were not then published—nor published for twenty years after—and so conclusive in favour of Francis, because *he*

* Camden's speech appeared in the *Middlesex Journal* of 11th to 13th—in the *London Evening Post* of 11th to 13th.

† "Nerva" was announced on the 13th; but this is now of little consequence, as the words were published in *London Evening Post* on the 11th. Still "Nerva" preceded "Phalaris."

it was who had treasured up the notes, and twenty years after furnished the reports—fall together. All the connexion of Junius with the reports is gone,—all that of Francis gone,—and therewith goes, in itself and in its inferences, half an octavo volume of "conclusive proofs." Having now disposed of the speeches—including the great "Falkland Islands'" speech—let us separate Francis from the Franciscans, and see how it was that his name became connected with these reports at all.

In 1813, *forty-three years* after the speech was made, and at the very moment of time when attention was first drawn to the Francises in connexion with Junius by the publication of Taylor's pamphlet, the Editor of *The Parliamentary History*, under a pretence which was false, took needless occasion to assert, what he could not speak to of his own knowledge—and Almon had been dead some years,—that this "Falkland Islands" speech "was taken" by the same "gentleman" who had furnished Almon with the reports of the debates on the 9th and 22nd of January. *The Parliamentary History*, as our readers know, is one of the very largest of our literary bundles of hay—thirty-six double columned octavo volumes of seven or eight hundred pages each,—a work for reference not for reading; yet by that intuition so remarkable in everything relating to this "discovery," the writer of 'Junius Identified' stumbled at once on this needle—this polar needle,—and put the pertinent or impertinent question to the Editor, "Who is the illustrious obscure?"—The Editor, contrary to the established usage of the press—to the usage of society,—forthwith drags the modest and retiring "gentleman" from his forty-three years' concealment, and, without a scruple, holds up Sir Philip Francis to the public gaze. Still, though we have thus strangely got hold of Francis as the reporter of three of the more important debates—including the Falkland Islands speech—there remained the great debates of the session on "the Middlesex Election." How fortunate, then, the accidental discovery of that chance note signed "P. F.", in Belsham's History! Nothing more natural than that an old man, some seventy-five or more years of age, should "dally

with the innocence of love" and the memories of the past—shoulder his crutch, or handle his pen—and write in the margin of a history which recalled the vigour and the services of his young days—"I wrote or reported all Chatham's Speeches in 1770-71;" or "I wrote or reported the great Debate on the Falkland Islands—the fullest debate then ever known—and all Chatham's Speeches for 1770-71." But, however natural, this was *not* what Francis did. His note is merely supplementary—*complementary*. "I wrote, &c., all those of Lord Chatham for *the Middlesex Election*:"—which, *added* to Wright's note, substantially includes all.

Here we conclude; but cannot do so without expressing a hope that we shall never again hear the name of Francis associated with that of Junius until some *one fact* shall have been established showing a connexion between them. To any such fact, be it of more or of less importance, we shall be prepared to give respectful attention. We have no prepossessions of our own, and therefore no prejudices on the subject. We do not agree with Dr. Parr, Mr. Butler, Mr. Barker, and others, that because the acknowledged writings of Francis are not equal to those of Junius the verdict must be against him. Francis was a man of great ability, and made manifest great power in some long subsequent pamphlets,—and every man writes with more than usual power and daring who writes anonymously. Burke, we are told, pronounced him to be "the best pamphlet writer of the age." We also agree that, in respect to his age, no objection can be held of force against a man who was four years older than Pitt when he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the capacity to do a thing is no proof that a man did it. In 1769 Francis had not, so far as we know, or as his friends have been able to show, published or written one single page. There had been no preparatory training—no previous testing of his powers. If he was Junius, he came forth perfect at his literary birth,—the wonder and the admiration of his own age; and, however unusual with prodigies, he has maintained a high rank and distinguished position in the literature of his country for eighty years. Whether he was a lawyer or no lawyer is a question of

little importance; he was well read in what may be called Constitutional law, as distinct from technical law; and as he himself said, "he did not pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country." —Preface. Neither do we deny the moral possibility that the dependent clerk may have been animated by a resolution and a spirit that lifted him far above the accident of his fortune. What we want in the case of Francis is proof. We cannot receive and believe what is so strangely improbable simply because it is possible. If proof be ever offered, then, all circumstances considered, Francis must take rank amongst those rare phenomena of which the world has few examples, and in this instance no previous example.

From the *Athenæum*, Sept. 28, 1850.

MR. TAYLOR AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF JUNIUS.

THE following is Mr. Taylor's reply to certain questions asked in 'Notes and Queries' as to the authorship of 'Junius Identified.' Though dated Sept. 7, this reply was published only on Saturday last.—

"It is fortunate for my reputation that I am still living to vindicate my title to the authorship of my own book, which seems otherwise in danger of being taken from me.

"I can assure your correspondent R. J. (Vol. ii. p. 103) that I was not only 'literally *the writer*,' (as he kindly suggests, with a view of saving my credit for having put my name to the book), but in its fullest sense *the author* of 'Junius Identified;' and that I never received the slightest assistance from Mr. Dubois, or any other person, either in collecting or arranging the evidence, or in the composition and correction of the work. After I had completed my undertaking, I wrote to Mr. Dubois to ask if he would allow me to see the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis, that I might compare it with the pub-

lished fac-similes of the handwriting of Junius; but he refused my request. His letter alone disproves the notion entertained by R. J. and others, that Mr. Dubois was in any degree connected with me, or with the authorship of the work in question.

"With regard to the testimony of Lord Campbell, I wrote to his Lordship in February, 1848, requesting his acceptance of a copy of 'Junius Identified,' which I thought he might not have seen; and having called his attention to my name at the end of the preface, I begged he would, when opportunity offered, correct his error in having attributed the work to Mr. Dubois. I was satisfied with his Lordship's reply, which was to the effect that he was ashamed of his mistake, and would take care to correct it. No new edition of that series of the 'Lives of the Chancellors' which contains the 'Life of Lord Loughborough' has since been published. The present edition is dated 1847.

"R. J. says further, that 'the late Mr. George Woodfall always spoke of the *pamphlet* as the work of Dubois;' and that Sir Fortunatus Dwarris states 'the *pamphlet* is said, I know not with what truth, to have been prepared under the eye of Sir Philip Francis, it may be through the agency of Dubois.' If 'Junius Identified' be alluded to in these observations as a *pamphlet*, it would make me doubt whether R. J., or either of his authorities, ever saw the book. It is an 8vo vol. The first edition, containing 380 pages, was published in 1816, at 12*s*. The second edition, which included the supplement, exceeded 400 pages, and was published in 1818, at 14*s*. The supplement, which contains the plates of handwriting, was sold separately at 3*s*. 6*d*., to complete the first edition, but this could not have been the pamphlet alluded to in the preceding extracts. I suspect that when the work is spoken of as a pamphlet, and this is often done, the parties thus describing it have known it only through the medium of the critique in the *Edinburgh Review*.

"Mr. Dubois was the author of the biography of Sir Philip Francis, first printed in the *Monthly Mirror* for May and June, 1810, and reprinted in 'Junius Identified,' with acknowledgment of the source from which it was taken. To this

biography the remarks of Sir Fortunatus Dwarris are strictly applicable, except that it never appeared in the form of a pamphlet. JOHN TAYLOR."

"30, UPPER GOWER STREET, *Sept.* 7, 1850."

Now, this, so far as Mr. Taylor is concerned, is precisely the answer that we should have expected. We have given it as our opinion, not only that Mr. Taylor wrote 'Junius Identified,' but that he was sincere in the belief that he had made the "discovery." No one, indeed, acquainted with the subject can doubt that Mr. Taylor worked out the idea and illustrated it by the "morally impossible" and endless proofs from Chatham's Speeches, &c., &c.—because the working out and illustration are in the exact form adopted by him when he explained "all the mysterious circumstances" in favour of Dr. Francis by like proofs from Horace and Demosthenes. None other than a sincere man would have hazarded so many assertions and assumptions,—or published so many mere speculative possibilities as if they were sober truths deduced by legitimate arguments from unquestioned facts.

This letter makes it certain, however, that Mr. Taylor was acquainted with Du Bois—the "connexion," friend, or secretary of Sir Philip, when he stumbled on the "discovery;"—and, that he was not led or misled by hints, suggestions, and ambiguous givings-out is more, we submit, than Mr. Taylor himself can know—however confident and natural may be his belief to the contrary. We further learn even from the little ray of light communicated by this letter, that Francis and Du Bois acted throughout in reference to this discovery on exactly the same principles. Francis called on Mr. Taylor to discourage him from pursuing his "wild-goose chase"—but offered his discouragement, our readers will remember, in a way the most certain to encourage him; and no sooner was the book published than he *privately* said and did everything in his power—as afterwards by testamentary bequest to his widow—to prove that the "discovery" had been made, and that he was the writer. So with Du

Bois: who would not permit his friend Mr. Taylor even "to see" the handwriting of Sir Philip—as if discovery lay in every flourish of the pen, and Du Bois was conscious of it,—yet no sooner was Taylor's book published than he did privately everything in his power, by word and by deed, and at last by testamentary gossip through Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, to encourage the belief that Francis was the man.—The "discouragement," be it further observed, was of a character not merely to whet the appetite, but at the same time to throw no obstruction in the way of the inquirer; for in 1816 Mr. Taylor could have obtained sight or possession of a dozen specimens of Francis's handwriting for probably as many shillings.*

From the *Athenæum*, September 17, 1853.

History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles. By Lord Mahon. Vol. V. 1763—1774. Third Edition, revised. Murray.

THIS new edition contains a note on the Junius question, lustrous with names and fames—Mackintosh, Macaulay, and Mahon. We ought, we suppose, in modesty to veil our eyes—to defer at once to such authorities. It is, however, a law in the literary republic that names and fames go for nothing so soon as opinions are on the record. The "black art" of our

* A notice of the Articles in the *Athenæum* appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1850, p. 403, and the writer promised to give the subject consideration, and pronounce judgment—assuming that there would be replies and rejoinders 'thick as hail.' There has not been *one*. In the Nov. No. of *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sir F. Dwarris expressed his satisfaction that the Editor was able to consider the whole subject, and reminded him that the *Athenæum* assumed a conspiracy—Taylor and Dwarris amongst the conspirators. Now I distinctly stated, "Taylor, we have *no doubt, was sincere*"—enforced, where we said, "none other than *a sincere man* could," &c. &c. That Taylor was *led* I have little doubt—of course he was not conscious of it, or he would not have been so led. As to Dwarris—as to any man taking a part in an old joke, knowing it to be a joke or an imposition, the idea is ridiculous. In fact, it is obvious that we did not say they were conspirators.

day—the printer's art—is potential to allay all illusions—and we must judge by facts and arguments, and come to our own conclusions. "'Tis our vocation,"—and our only hope is, that we may do our spiriting gently and modestly.

Sir James Mackintosh's letter may be dismissed at once:—it has been published before, and the criticism is not general, but confined to Mr. Coventry's 'Inquiry.' Mr. Macaulay's letter also relates principally to the speculations in the *Quarterly Review*.—

"There is [he says] one strong objection to the theory of the Reviewer, which strikes me at the first glance. Junius, whoever he was, wrote a long letter to George Grenville, which was preserved at Stowe many years, and of which I have seen a copy in Lord Mahon's possession. The letter contains no decisive indications of the writer's situation. But, on the whole, it seems to be written by a man not very high in rank or fortune. The tone, though not by any means abject, is that of an inferior. The author declares himself to be the writer of a squib, then famous, called 'The Grand Council.' He says, that Grenville must soon be Prime Minister. 'Till then I wish to remain concealed even from you; then I will make myself known, and explain what I wish you to do for me.' I quote from memory; but this is the substance."

We need scarcely observe, that this is a mistake,—that Mr. Macaulay's "memory" has misled him. What the writer did say was this:—"Until you are Minister, I must not permit myself to think of the honour of being known to you. When that happens, *you will not find me a needy or a troublesome dependent.*" We, however, agree with Mr. Macaulay in his conclusion, that the tone of the letter, "though not by any means abject, is that of an inferior."

Mr. Macaulay, however, takes the opportunity incidentally to avow his opinion in favour of Francis;—and he adduces certain facts in proof.—

"It is odd [he says] that the [*Quarterly*] Reviewer should infer from the mistake about Draper's half-pay that Junius

could not have been in the War Office. I talked that matter over more than ten years ago, when I was Secretary-at-War, with two of the ablest and best informed gentlemen in the department; and we all three came to a conclusion the very opposite of that at which the Reviewer has arrived. Francis was chief clerk in the English War Office. Everybody who drew half-pay through that office made the declaration which Junius mentions. But Draper's half-pay was on the Irish establishment; and of him the declaration was not required. Now, to me and to those whom I consulted, it seemed the most natural thing in the world that Francis, relying on his official knowledge, and not considering that there might be a difference between the practice at Dublin and the practice at Westminster, should put that unlucky question which gave Draper so great an advantage."

Now, we may as well acknowledge at once that we cannot see the force and cogency of this reasoning:—in truth, we do not understand it. The reference to the intelligent officials at the War Office leads to the inference that such persons are better informed on this subject than the public generally. If so, it must have been equally true of intelligent War Office officials in 1769. Yet, says Lord Mahon,—"this mistake was likely to be made by some person closely connected with the War Office, *and no person besides*." It may be so; but to us it appears, that "if everybody who drew half-pay" made the declaration which Junius mentions, then "everybody who drew half-pay" might "put the unlucky question," "not considering that there might be a difference between the practice at Dublin and the practice at Westminster." In brief, in our opinion, the conjoint arguments amount to this:—though all England was probably as uninformed as Junius—though all who did receive, or ever had received, half-pay were open to what is considered the misleading light,—there is a mysterious something, of which we cannot get even a perception or conception, which proves that "no person besides" the one person of all others least likely to be uninformed—least likely to be misled—could have been the man who committed the error!

We come now to Lord Mahon; who has not only added to

his original text, but "elucidated" his brief argument by a page or two in the Appendix. Some of the points touched on and enforced were, we think, disposed of long since by anticipation. At any rate, we cannot consent to enter again on such vexed questions as that of handwriting; but must leave his Lordship to settle differences with Mr. Almon, Mr. Coventry, Dr. Busby, Dr. Girdlestone, Mr. Cramp, Mr. Netherclift, Mr. Smith, and a dozen others, all of whom differ from him,—and from one another. Then, as to "peculiarities of spelling,"—that subject is fairly exhausted. His Lordship says, both Francis and Junius spelt "endea*vor* for endea*vour*, i*n*hance for e*n*hance, and ris*que* for ris*k*." Why, so did half the people of the age and nation. It is little more than a month since we were reading page after page about these "peculiarities," as they are called,—but then, it was Lady Temple and Junius who wrote "endea*vor*" for "endea*vour*," and so forth.

Another buttress by which Lord Mahon endeavours to strengthen his theory is also constructed out of old materials, the old assertion that Junius "on all occasions designedly spared" Lord Holland. Even when attacked, says Lord Mahon, as he believed, by Lord Holland's son, he did not return blow for blow, but merely "under another name" threw out a warning; and no theories as to the authorship "can be complete or satisfactory which do not supply some adequate explanation of this remarkable anomaly." Fortunately, the *Athenæum* has no theories,—and may, therefore, in justice to others, say that such conditions are hard and arbitrary. Heretofore the speculators were told by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* that no one could be listened to who did not establish a relationship of some kind between Junius and the Grenvilles; and forthwith the same writer himself pronounced judgment in favour of Francis without saying one word showing, or tending to show, that either father or son had any, the remotest connexion, with either Stowe or Wotton. Now, Lord Mahon's preliminary condition is, friendship with or dependence on Lord Holland. To prevent even the chance of misinterpretation, we will quote his words.—

"That nobleman [Lord Holland], considering his line of politics, was one of the most obvious marks for Junius to assail. Few men of that time were more open to attack. Few men had less of popular favour to shield them. Yet by a most remarkable anomaly in Junius's career, Lord Holland was on all occasions designedly spared by that writer. In one of his private letters to Woodfall he goes so far as to say: 'I wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour.' And when he believed Lord Holland's son to have written against him anonymously in the newspapers, he does not strike blow for blow (as who could more readily?), but merely, under another name, throws out this public warning: 'Whether Lord Holland be invulnerable or whether Junius should be wantonly provoked, are questions worthy the *Black Boy's* (Charles Fox) consideration.'"

It is strange to observe how much is assumed in this apparently simple statement. We cannot, however, stop to analyze it at length,—though an analysis would be both amusing and instructive. That Junius did not attack Lord Holland has been asserted fifty times; but, assuming it to be true,—it is at least a question open to consideration, whether he refrained "designedly" from personal feeling and regard for the man, or, as in so many other instances, because the man had sunk out of observation. Lord Holland at that time held no responsible political position,—he had been long out of office—had no weight or influence either with King, or Minister, or Parliament, or the Country,—his political insignificance is the painful burthen of his private letters—he was in wretched health, and abroad for health's sake, the greater part of the time that Junius was before the public,—he was, as he himself said, out of public recollection, and would have remained so but for the accident about his accounts. Junius struck at living men and active antagonistic powers; and was too much in earnest to throw away powder and shot on *ex*-anybody. As to "the pert youth"—"the Black Boy,"—he was a boy in every sense of the word:—he was not twenty, and had never, so far as we know, opened his lips in Parliament when Junius was half through his labours. His first recorded speech—recorded

in 12 lines—was made in 1770, according to the Parliamentary History,—and he was then just twenty. He was indeed a wondrous boy, who became afterwards the celebrated Charles James Fox,—but at that time a good-tempered, idle, gambling, red-heeled Macaroni. It would have been strange indeed if Junius had formally attacked him,—for Junius was singularly indifferent about all people out of power,—and was willing even to say a civil word of the dead. It was a gleam of light on his black portraits,—a liberality that heightened their effect—and cost nothing.

But why, if Francis were Junius, should he spare Lord Holland?—Because, says Lord Mahon, Lord Holland was "the early patron" both of father and son. This argument, it appears to us, is either of universal or of no application. Was Francis under obligations to Lord Chatham:—he said so somewhat ostentatiously, [see *Ath.* 7th Sept. 1850]. Did my Lord Mahon's Junius spare the "lunatic," the "villain"?—Was he under no obligations to "the most contemptible little pieces of machinery in the kingdom,"—Grildrig, Guy Faux, little mannikin Ellis? Had the Francis's no friendship for, no obligations to, "the vagabond" Garrick?—read the dedication to 'Eugenia.' None to the King? "the odious hypocrite," whom virtue afflicted and vice consoled—who betrayed everybody who confided in him—the one man who saved Grafton from the reproach of being the meanest and basest fellow in the kingdom. Why, the King was the very breath of their nostrils; the bread they ate came from the King,—not from the Crown, not from the Minister, but from the King personally, and from personal regard. He, the King, as we believe, gave the father a living,—and a good one.—He got, from King or from Minister—and we suspect got also leave to sell—the Chaplaincy of Chelsea Hospital. In 1762, the King gave him 600*l.* a-year for 31 years, on the Irish Pension Fund. In 1764, the King gave him 300*l.* a-year on his own Civil List. Are we, with these facts before us, to talk about Junius sparing Lord Holland and his family because Lord Holland had given young Francis a subordinate place of some fifty or a hundred pounds a-year? Further, we have no doubt that the friend

of the father was the friend of the son. Young Francis was patronized by all parties,—by Fox—by Chatham—by Welbore Ellis—by Barrington:—which leads to the inference that he was patronized by some one who had influence over all. Was not that patron the King? Young Francis found friends in those who hated the father; and Chatham must have hated him, for it was the father who had turned his resignation and his flourishing letter to the Lord Mayor into verse and into ridicule. As to Welbore Ellis, and Barrington, they were creatures of the King—dependents on him. The King upheld Barrington under all changes—kept him in place under all governments,—and the King was never, either before or after, so powerful as at that moment. But, as the King could not constitutionally appoint to the office, Barrington therefore, we doubt not, was directed to recommend young Francis for the appointment in India, and North to accept the recommendation. The irreproachable moral character of young Francis, to which allusion was subsequently made in Parliament, pleased the King; and the King, we know, was anxious to get men and keep men of character in office, and especially in India. —Yet, as Sir James Mackintosh observed, "the bitterest of all the animosities of Junius is that against King George the Third."

After all, is Lord Mahon's solitary fact a fact at all? That Junius did not attack Lord Holland, was noticed by Walpole, —who thence inferred, not that Francis, but that Gerard Hamilton was the writer. That Junius, under another signature, had warned "the Black Boy" to beware how he provoked him, for that Lord Holland and his family had been "designedly spared," was asserted forty years since by Dr. Good, when he first published the letter of "Anti-Fox" and attributed it to Junius. Mr. Taylor, of course, strengthened his case by both fact and assertion. But Lord Mahon goes further; he assumes, or seems to assume, not only that the letter of "Anti-Fox" was written by Junius, but that it is the only letter in which Junius referred either to father or son, and that it had been written under circumstances of personal provocation. Why, this is so far from being correct, that

Junius, without provocation, had months before, and not under another signature but under that of Junius, not only referred to Charles Fox, but characterized him—briefly indeed, but with extreme severity. The Macaroni, young as he was, had not escaped the eye of Junius,—though his youth no doubt saved him from the honour of a special letter. If Lord Mahon will turn to the famous No. 49—to which, we are told, Junius was so "strangely partial," and which certainly in withering scorn, vigorous satire, and something worse, was never surpassed—he will there read Junius's apology for the King's having once again admitted Grafton to his Council. There was no other man, he says, on whom the King could rely to perpetrate the new crimes contemplated.—

"Lord Mansfield shrinks from his principles;—his ideas of Government perhaps go further than your own, but his heart disgraces the theory of his understanding. *Charles Fox is yet in blossom;* and as for Mr. Wedderburne, there is something about him that even treachery cannot trust. For the present, therefore, the best of princes must have contented himself with Lord Sandwich."

Reading the prophecy as to the future power of Fox, as we do, by the light of *its* "hereafter," it is a proof how clear was the vision and how sound the judgment of Junius. The political direction in which that power was likely to manifest itself was, of course, suggested to Junius by the accident of the hour.

Is Lord Mahon justified, under these circumstances, in re-echoing the old assertion about the extreme tenderness of Junius towards Lord Holland and his family,—in hinting at personal motives, generous feelings, grateful recollections,—or in asserting that even under provocation Junius refused to strike blow for blow?

How, again, is Lord Mahon's theory to be reconciled with Mr. Macaulay's? My Lord tells us that Junius spared Lord Holland because Francis had received benefits from Lord Holland,—and this sparing because of personal regard,—the evidence of this delicate and tender conscience—is to him so

manifest, that he thence deduces certain conditions as preliminary to all further inquiry. Mr. Macaulay, on the contrary, maintains that Francis had no conscience at all,—that he could not confess the authorship because it would have disgraced him.—

"Is it strange that a very proud man should not confess what would disgrace him? I have always believed that Francis kept silence because he was well known to have received great benefits from persons whom he had as *Junius* or as *Veteran* abused with great malignity."

We must now ask, how does Mr. Macaulay reconcile his own theory with itself or with the Franciscan theory? Lord Mahon and the Franciscans generally hold that this proud man did "disgrace" himself,—did confess—if not in direct words, yet "in truth," in act, and in fact—that he was the writer. The data which are held to be so confirmatory of Mr. Taylor's theory—to say nothing of the theory itself—were furnished by Francis, by Lady Francis, and by Dubois, Francis's secretary. Has Mr. Macaulay forgotten "the ingenious evasion" which none but fools "could take for" a denial?—has he forgotten that Francis told his wife, as she said, and as he perhaps thought, "circumstances *that none but Junius could know*"?—that before he went to India he had "*avowed himself to be the author*, and his avowal was made known to the King and the Government"? Was it not Francis who marked the "coincident" in 'Junius Identified' with a forty years'-old-letter, and left the letter there till it was found at the sale of his library? Was it not Francis who informed Wright that he, Francis, forty-three years before, had reported Chatham's speeches,—which information proved the singular penetration of the author of 'Junius Identified,' who subsequently arrived at the same conclusion from internal evidence? Was it not Francis who wrote the "complimentary" note signed "P. F." in Belsham's 'History of England'? Was it not "old Sir Philip" who knew his young wife's opinion, and "never contradicted" her? Was it not he whose first gift after his marriage "was an edition of Junius, which he bid

her take to her room, and not let it be seen or speak on the subject"? Was not his posthumous present to her a copy of 'Junius Identified,'—which, says Lady Francis, "his son found in his bureau, sealed up and directed to me"? "To suppose," says Lord Mahon, "that Sir Philip bequeathed *such a book*, under *such circumstances*, he *not being, in truth, the author of Junius*, is to heap a most heavy imputation on his memory. It is to accuse him of *imparting a falsehood*, as it were, *from beyond the grave*."

Well, then, Francis did acknowledge himself to be the writer:—not in ambiguous givings out merely, but with more than ordinary solemnity,—speaking, "as it were, from beyond the grave." What, then, becomes of Mr. Macaulay's ingenious speculations as to why *he did not, would not, could not?*

Our own opinion on this subject is already before our readers [*Athen.* September, 1850],—and we are prepared to justify that opinion, should occasion arise. We have said enough, also, on the question as to Francis being the reporter of Chatham's speeches, at least until new evidence shall be adduced. Even then, we could not consent, "for the sake of brevity, to follow Lord Mahon's suggestion and example, and omit "the points connected with the earlier publications in contemporary newspapers, or in 'Almon's Anecdotes.'" Why, these "points" were heretofore held to be the evidence—to be conclusive. We were then told that if the speeches could be found, the same in substance though reported in other words, certain resemblances might be accounted for, but that they had never been published—that they had been kept in MS. for twenty years:—and now, when it has been proved that the more important of them *had* been contemporaneously published, not merely the same in substance, but verbatim—are we, "for brevity's sake," to treat all this evidence as so much irrelevant gossip, so much supererogatory trifling?—are we to treat the shadow as if it were the substance, the unsubstantial as if it were able to stand alone?

Lord Mahon, however, is pleased to act on his own suggestion, to confine his observation to the single speech of the

9th of January, 1770, to assume the truth of what Francis so opportunely whispered to Wright, Wright to Taylor, and Taylor to the public. He adds, however, a corroborative something to the significance and importance of this whispering, and then finds in the whole "a most striking coincidence" such as "no other theory of Junius supplies."—

"Omitting for the sake of brevity the points connected with the earlier publications in contemporary newspapers, or in Almon's Anecdotes, it may here be sufficient to state that in the volume of the Parliamentary History which appeared in 1813 a full account of the first day of the Session in the Lords, January 9, 1770, is introduced by a note as follows: 'This very important debate was taken by a gentleman who afterwards made a distinguished figure in the House of Commons, and by him it has been obligingly revised for this work.' On application to the publishers *before the appearance of Mr. Taylor's book, and before his theory had been in any manner made known*, they at once admitted that the gentleman referred to was Sir Philip Francis."

We admit at once the force of this new evidence; but must add, that its force and relevancy depends absolutely on the fact that the application to the publishers and the admission that Francis was the reporter were made "*before* the appearance of Mr. Taylor's book, and *before* his *theory had been in any manner made known*." We admit further, that when we had occasion heretofore, in our review of Mr. Wade's volumes, to write on this subject, we had never heard or seen these important facts adverted to. All we then knew was, that in the autumn of 1812 was published the three-volume edition of Junius commonly known as Dr. Good's edition; which edition contained, and then first made public, the private Correspondence of Junius with Woodfall and with Wilkes, and one hundred and odd letters, selected from the *Public Advertiser*, then, for the first time, attributed to Junius. Public attention was immediately aroused,—old claims were revived and strengthened,—new claims were brought forward,—speculators of all sorts came rushing before the public, and amongst them

Mr. Taylor. That gentleman, no matter by what light, direct or borrowed, had come to the conclusion, as stated ('Discovery,' p. 4), that the letters of Junius were "the production" of "*two gentlemen, neither of whom*" had "*ever been surmised to be the author*"—and he concluded (p. 139) with expressing his "conviction *that Dr. Francis and his son Sir Philip were the authors of the Letters of Junius.*"

We have spoken doubtingly as to the light by which Mr. Taylor made his discovery, without meaning in the slightest degree to question the integrity and good faith of that gentleman; but no man, in our opinion, can say positively by what chance or accident an idea of this sort, a suspicion of this nature, entered his mind. It was a vague possibility which occurred to him, perhaps, in the first instance,—it was probably a sort of idle conjecture or speculation, which, through some known or unknown channel, in jest or in earnest, may have been mentioned to Sir Philip. This may have been —*may* have been, we say,—in the winter of 1812. The idea, however, had taken root; and then followed the literary labour;—the research in Demosthenes and Horace for illustrations and parallel passages,—and then, as Mr. Taylor informs us,—

"*Before it* [The Discovery] *went to press*, I requested a friend to call on Sir Philip Francis, and inform him that, if he had the slightest objection to have his name connected with the investigation, he might rely on the total suppression of the work."—'*Junius Identified*,' *p.* 7.

—Sir Philip had no objection,—and said so. Forthwith, *after* this formal announcement and sanction, the manuscript was sent to the Printer, and the work was published,—not later than May, we presume, because in the Review in the *Monthly Magazine* for July, written, therefore, on or before the 20th of June, it is spoken of as having been published "some weeks" since.

Now, as to the publication of Volume 16 of the Parliamentary History. The Preface is dated "24 June." That is conclusive. However, out of respect to Lord Mahon, we will

add a few circumstances. This work, as our readers know, was substantially a reprint of Almon's Debates, with such additions as offered themselves from contemporary journals:—the matter, therefore, of a volume was probably completed and put at once by the Editor into the hands of the Printer. There were five volumes published in the year 1813. Though no doubt actual publication was occasionally hurried or delayed according to the season, it is fair to infer that the printing went on regularly,—and this would give about ten weeks for the printing of each volume. Accordingly in the List of Books, published in September, 1813, in the *Monthly Magazine*, is *Volume* 16 of the Parliamentary History.—The exact date, however, is of little consequence; as all we are concerned with is, a note of three lines, which might have been added at any moment while the type was standing, and *was* most probably added in the proof.

In brief, here are the facts so far as known to us. Sir Philip may have heard of Mr. Taylor's suspicions in the winter of 1812, or early in 1813;—he was formally informed of Mr. Taylor's theory in March or April, 1813;—and Mr. Taylor's book was published in May. Whereas the manuscript of Volume 16 of the Parliamentary History was not, we suspect, sent to the printer until after the 24th of June—*and was*, probably, *not through the press*—not beyond the reach and the insertion of a note—*before the end of July or the beginning of August*,—and not published, and could not therefore have been seen by Mr. Taylor, before August or September. What, then, becomes of Lord Mahon's "most striking coincidence"?—what of the extraordinary statement, that Volume 16 of the Parliamentary History was written, published, and the answer was given to Mr. Taylor, "*before* the appearance of Mr. Taylor's book, and *before his theory had been in any manner made known*"?

We can only suppose that Lord Mahon, like the reviewer in the *Edinburgh*, had never heard of 'The Discovery,' published in 1813, or had forgotten it,—and was thinking only of 'Junius Identified,' published in 1816.—But, having put the facts on record, we shall leave conclusions to the reader.

From the *Athenæum*, March 22, 1851.

Junius and his Works compared with the Character and Writings of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield. By William Cramp. Lewes, Baxter & Son.

Fac-simile Autograph Letters of Junius, Lord Chesterfield, and Mrs. C. Dayrolles. By W. Cramp. Hope & Co.

'JUNIUS and his Works,' if we mistake not, is substantially a republication—a revised and enlarged edition of a pamphlet published some five-and-twenty or thirty years since,—although there is no reference to the fact in the work itself. Our recollection is but vague; but we assume it to be correct, from a conviction that no two independent persons examining the question could have come to the same conclusion. Be this as it may, Mr. Cramp knows little more of his subject than was known in that benighted age. He assumes the authenticity of the Miscellaneous Letters as if they were beyond question; and his argument—if it deserves to be so called—is carried on after the Good old fashion. The "possible," the not "impossible," the "probable," the "may have been," and other evidence of like historical character, figure throughout his pamphlet in great force.

Now, for anything that we know to the contrary, nineteen-twentieths of the Miscellaneous Letters published in 1812 may have been written by Junius:—he may have written the other odd fifty or hundred which we have reason to believe were originally intended to have been included in that collection. We, indeed, hold it to be quite absurd to suppose that this celebrated writer came before the public perfect at his literary birth,—unequalled in spirit, in vigour, in intellectual energy, in sarcasm, in condensed power, in direct cleaving strength,—with a mind full grown and fully developed, and a style so admirably adapted to its purpose that, though unexampled at the time, it became at once, and has ever since been considered, a model in its way. But all we *know* is this,—that in 1772 two small volumes were published by the Printer of the *Public*

Advertiser, containing, as avowed, a collection of the Letters of Junius, prepared under the direction of the writer; and no man has a right to add one single letter to that collection, or to fix the responsibility of other letters on him, unless he assigns reasons for so doing:—then the public can judge of the propriety of such affiliation. To select, as was done in 1812, just such letters from the *Public Advertiser* as satisfied the critical taste of one or two individuals, and fulfilled the requirements of "3 vols. 8vo.," will not do; and if Lewes had not been so immediately in the neighbourhood of Sleepy Hollow, Mr. Cramp would have known this.

Under circumstances, to enter into a discussion with Mr. Cramp about what he calls the evidence adduced in proof that Lord Chesterfield was the writer, would enforce on us a discourtesy which we desire to avoid. When, for example, he asserts, for some inferential purpose, that Junius said so and so,—our reply must be simply that Junius said no such thing. When he refers to eight different letters (p. 31) for facts and dates which tend to establish what he considers proof,—our answer must be, briefly, that not one of the eight letters is known to have been written by Junius. When he talks of extraordinary coincidences—as that Chesterfield left London in 1767, and that during November and the greater part of December no letter appeared from Junius,—we must simply refer him to the two volumes, the first letter in which is dated January, 1769. When assertions are made after this random fashion, discussion would be quite idle; and in proof how utterly Mr. Cramp's data and arguments are beside the question, we may observe that there is not, we think, one single fact adduced from any one single letter avowedly from the pen of Junius in the first fifty pages of his hundred-paged pamphlet.

Putting aside then, and at once, all that Mr. Cramp adduces in proof of his hypothesis, let us, for amusement's sake, look at the question in the abstract. The first inquiry that suggests itself is, as to the *physical* power of Chesterfield; and here Mr. Cramp argues with great liberality,—for he admits that "if it were true that Lord Chesterfield's 'age' or 'infirmity'

at the time that the letters were written was such as to present to all appearance *a physical impossibility*, then any motives brought forward, *however strong they might be*, would fail to convince." To this we agree. That moral influences cannot stand against physical impossibilities is, we think, a good proposition for any writer to lean on.—The physical possibilities of Chesterfield might, the reader will suppose, be inferred from the single fact, that he was in the 75th year of his age when the first Junius letter appeared! He had long retired from public life. In November (or December), 1755, Chesterfield made his last speech in Parliament. The "exertion," says Dr. Maty (i. 209, Miscellaneous Works), "fatigued him so much, that he was obliged to be carried home immediately after, and never again appeared as a speaker in the House."—"This day, which may be looked upon as the close of our Earl's political career." Maty had before said (p. 208), "His state of health became every day more distressing, by his increased deafness cut off from society, and struggling against multiplied infirmities both of body and mind." Chesterfield, according to his own report and the report and belief of his friends, was suffering from great bodily infirmities,—had two years before been struck with paralysis and lost the use of his lower limbs,—was deaf, and for months together so blind that he could neither read nor write. At the very time, indeed, when Junius's first letter appeared Chesterfield expressed his regret to Mrs. Stanhope and to others that he was obliged to use another hand to acknowledge the receipt of their letters. Subsequently he rallied; and then wrote to the Bishop of Waterford:—

"I am prodigiously old, and every month of the calendar adds at least a year to my age. My hand trembles to that degree that I can hardly hold my pen. My understanding stutters and my memory fumbles."

We are told, indeed, that some of his letters were so feebly written as to require another hand to be passed over the trembling outline.

Well, what the reader would think of Lord Chesterfield's physical possibilities after this, it were not difficult to conjecture:—but Mr. Cramp has a specific of his own. That Chesterfield was 75 years of age, is a fact; he may have been ill; he certainly had lost the use of his limbs, was deaf,* his eyesight doubtful:—but the extreme debility was assumed! —his letters to Mrs. Stanhope, and to his dearest friends, public and private, were all a masking costume, assumed for the nonce! Had he been so feeble as to require another hand to retrace the outline of his writing, it would have been "less trouble if his Lordship's secretary had made a fair copy of the letter;" therefore, the story proves too much,—"the stratagem was carried too far?" In a letter which Chesterfield wrote to Sir John Irwine, after touching slightly on the factious and seditious spirit of the times, he breaks off with—

"But enough of politics, which *from long disuse, and seeing them at present only remotely and through a mist, I must necessarily talk absurdly about.*"

Why, this turns out to be "a masterpiece of dissimulation!" Now, we are ourselves disposed to agree with Mr. Cramp, that "if" Lord Chesterfield wrote the Letters of Junius there must have been a good deal of dissimulation:—and then we go farther. If this sort of dissimulation be admitted, we think it better, more decided and decisive, to assume at once that it was all dissimulation; that Chesterfield was not seventy-five, but forty-five or thirty-five; that he blinded himself, cracked the tympanum of both ears, paralyzed himself, and died purely and purposely to conceal the fact. The only difficulty with us is, to comprehend why he committed so many of these outrages on himself so long before the letters were written!

But until these "dissimulations" shall be universally admitted, the public will persevere in considering Chesterfield as an extremely weak, suffering, worn-out man of seventy-five,—and ask what were the circumstances that could have so roused

* A *dozen years* before, Rigby describes him as "deaf as the die-box."

the indignation of one tottering on the brink of the grave into which he stumbled "the very month," as Mr. Cramp says, "in which Junius so mysteriously disappeared?" How was this living corpse galvanized into new life and the "laborious zeal" of Junius? Mr. Cramp says, "his feelings as a parent had been deeply wounded." This, he admits, is not easily to be inferred from known facts; indeed, it "requires some attention" to trace it out:—and, we must add, some attention to comprehend it when found,—for it happens that his son died a few days *before* the publication of Junius's first letter! But let us attend to Mr. Cramp.

In 1766,—the reader will please to note the date,—Lord Chatham was asked, and he promised, to secure a seat in the next parliament for Mr. Stanhope; and forthwith—or rather, to speak by the card, within four months, says Mr. Cramp—and therefore before Chatham could have fulfilled his promise, and in gratitude, as we must suppose, for that promise—Chesterfield-Junius, under the name of "Poplicola," opened a brutal and virulent attack on Chatham; and he continued these attacks, as we understand (p. 66), so long as Chesterfield had a hope that Chatham would keep his promise. Then he transferred his resentment to the Duke of Grafton, who had never heard of the promise which is said to have been the galvanizing stimulant. These motives help, we are told, to solve the mystery as to who was the writer. But if we put trust in Mr. Cramp, there could have been no mystery at all. For Junius, we are told, "alludes in such distinct terms to the circumstances," "using, probably, the *exact words* [the italics are Mr. Cramp's] employed by his Grace when he answered Lord Chesterfield," that the Duke and his secretary, Mr. Bradshaw, could have had no doubt as to who was the writer:—and why therefore they should have set the whole machinery of Government in action to find him out, puzzles our poor philosophy.

But there were other motives,—and other persons were attacked; and Mr. Cramp tells us,—

"We have the authority of Lord Chesterfield to prove that

against *these* also he had cause to be offended. For . . . he had been annoyed by the ministry sending a person to fill Mr. Stanhope's place during his temporary absence from Dresden."

This is another case in which it "requires some attention" to trace out the motives:—for to most people the transaction appears very simple, and they would infer from his own letters that Lord Chesterfield was extremely well pleased not only with the civility and attentions, but with the intentions, of the Government. What are the facts?

Mr. Stanhope, "who was suffering from severe illness," requested Lord Chesterfield to ask permission for him to leave Dresden for a time. The result we learn from Lord Chesterfield's reply.—

"The day after I received your letter of the 21st past, I wrote to Lord Weymouth, and I send you his answer enclosed, from which (though I have not heard from him since), *I take it for granted, and so may you, that his silence signifies his Majesty's consent to your request.*"

Mr. Keith was now sent to Dresden to do duty in Mr. Stanhope's absence,—not to supersede him:—for Lord Chesterfield thus writes to his son.—

"I forgot to tell you in my last, that I was most positively assuredt hat *the instant you return to Dresden*, Keith should decamp. *I am persuaded they will keep their word with me, as there is no reason in the world why they should not.*"

Mr. Cramp discovers proof in these facts, and from "the tone" of these letters, that neither Lord Chesterfield nor Mr. Stanhope were treated with much courtesy by the party then in power,—and that Mr. Keith remained at Dresden much to the annoyance of Mr. Stanhope. Now, the tone of the letters we leave to be decided on by the ear of the reader; but respecting the annoyance of Mr. Stanhope, the facts are these. Mr. Stanhope, on account of his extreme ill health,—indeed he was dying,—applied in March, we believe, for per-

mission to leave Dresden, which was immediately granted, and he died in November!

The death of Mr. Stanhope is a third coincidence in the life of Chesterfield which agrees with an assumed suspension of the labours of Junius; and Mr. Cramp considers it so extraordinary that he concludes the announcement with *three* notes of admiration. Let us, then, look into it a little narrowly. First, we would observe, that all three coincidences are proved, if proved at all, by the Miscellaneous Letters, and not by the Letters of Junius. Next, however natural a total silence, and for ever, might have been in any man who in extreme old age had lost an only son, it does happen that if Chesterfield were Junius he was not silenced:—indeed, the old man was re-invigorated by the loss. For, Mr. Stanhope died on the 16th of November; and Mr. Cramp admits that there was the "encomiastic letter" published on the 15th of December,—and we must add, the first letter by Junius, which was published on the 21st of November. So that, the proof of coincidence and silence is this:—a letter published in November,—another in December,—followed by the Junius of January, and by the whole two volumes of Junius's Letters in rapid succession, continued for three years!

So much for the main argument. The incidental illustrations are after the like fashion. The '*Letter to a Brigadier General*' is put in the foremost rank. Lord Townshend and Lord George Sackville are the parties therein attacked,—and the grounds of the attack are thus explained.—Lord Chesterfield had obtained a promise that his son should be appointed to invest Prince Ferdinand with the Order of the Garter, conferred on him for his success at Minden. This promise was not kept,—but Mr. Cramp says, whether frustrated by "some intrigue of parties," or by "the obduracy of the King," or "whether Lord Townshend or Lord George Sackville were the persons" who "by indirect means" thwarted the views of Lord Chesterfield, *remains a secret.* Now, considering how many persons and parties, according to Mr. Cramp's own statement, may have influenced the decision,—and above all, that the truth "remains a secret,"—it does appear to us a

somewhat bold venture to fix the wrong on Townshend and Sackville, and thus explain a virulent attack on them in an anonymous pamphlet:—to say nothing of the other necessary assumptions,—viz., that Chesterfield was Junius, and that Junius wrote the 'Letter to a Brigadier General,' published in the reign of George the Second, some ten years before Junius was heard of!

But Mr. Cramp supports these conjectures by evidence. In 1766, Chesterfield thus wrote to the Bishop of Waterford:—

"You have a new Lord-Lieutenant [Townshend]! I have seen him once, and *he seems resolved to do well.* One thing, *I verily believe*, that *he will have no dirty work done, nor the least corruption suffered.*"

A "guarded encomium," says Mr. Cramp,—and he adduces it to prove or to strengthen his case!—Further, Junius, in 1767,—Mr. Cramp should have said, "A Faithful Monitor" —states that "he had served under Lord Townshend."—Well, knowing generally the outline facts of Chesterfield's life, the reader may be as curious as we were to see how this could be proved against Chesterfield.—Why, says Mr. Cramp, Chesterfield "raised a regiment during the Rebellion in 1745"!*—Further, "at that time, Lord Townshend held an important command in the army"! Indeed! Why, Townshend was only born in 1724, and was not probably of age when Chesterfield raised his regiment.—Then, think of Lord George Sackville in 1759 intriguing about anything except how to save his honour or his life. That he was allowed to return after the Battle of Minden is true,—but he was forbidden to appear at court. The Minister refused even to see him. He was removed from his regiment, resigned all offices, and was tried by court-martial. And this was the person who was at this moment intriguing about who should invest Prince Ferdinand with the Order of the Garter!

Mr. Cramp thus concludes:—

"The remaining facts in favour of the supposition that

* He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1745.

Lord Chesterfield was discovered to be the author of the letters of Junius consist chiefly in the suppression of every circumstance connected with the last few years of his Lordship's life. * * Although we have Memoirs and Correspondence in abundance, written by the contemporaries of Lord Chesterfield, yet we search in vain for an impartial review of his character, or any the slightest record of the manner in which he occupied his time while the letters of Junius were written. Even Lord Chesterfield's death is passed over by the courtly writers of that day without one encomium on his merit. * * An ominous silence seems to have been preserved by Walpole, Chatham, Burke, and even the Grenville family. * * The 'Court Guide' itself, either accidentally or by design, falsified the date of his Lordship's death."

All these facts, if true, would be merely proof to us that this deaf, blind, paralyzed, old man had so long and so absolutely retired from before the public eye, that he had slipped out of memory:—but to Mr. Cramp there is something marvellous in that,—an attempt "to suppress the memory of so great a man, and to leave posterity only THE SHADOW OF A MIGHTY NAME." He is "unable to account for it upon any other grounds than that *the King and his Ministers would have it so.*" So that, "the King and his Ministers" must have exercised an absolute control over Walpole, Chatham, Burke, the whole Grenville family, the compilers of the 'Court Guide,' all memoir writers and all letter writers; to all whom—or they might have stumbled into anecdote, or hint, or suggestion—the fact must have been known which Mr. Cramp has rediscovered and revealed to the whole world!

This was Mr. Cramp's "first essay"; and we did not think it worth while to weary our readers by a commentary,—being further of opinion that the first essay would be the last. Mr. Cramp, however, has now issued 'A Postscript,' together with some "fac-simile autographs,"—and hopes to influence public judgments by calling "Mr. Frederick Netherclift, of King William Street, Strand, an artist whose skill in his profession is unrivalled," to bear witness that they are in the

same handwriting as what are called the Junius MSS., in the possession of Mr. Woodfall. Now, we could allow gentlemen amateurs to hazard any opinions they please, and, but for Mr. Netherclift's appearance, should have put Mr. Cramp's fac-similes amongst the dozen other fac-similes which have been published in proof that some dozen different persons were the writers of the Letters. But Mr. Netherclift is a gentleman professionally dealing in questions relating to handwriting,—often, we believe, called on to give evidence on such points in our courts of law;—he is, therefore, entitled to respectful attention. But, just in proportion to the weight that his character would give to his opinion, must be the damage that his character will suffer if his opinion shall appear to have been hazarded without consideration; and if Mr. Cramp has published as authority some idle words of mere civility, Mr. Netherclift will now have an opportunity to qualify and explain.

When "the first essay" was published, Mr. Cramp declared his opinion to be, that "the autographs preserved by Woodfall are in the handwriting of Junius," but "evidently greatly disguised"—"the initial 'C.'" however is "*precisely* that of Lord Chesterfield": although it was "not to be inferred that the writer received no assistance"—for he himself avows that he did, and no doubt Mr. Dayrolles was the assistant. Since then—that is, since Mr. Cramp *pronounced judgment*,—he has examined the autographs; and now finds, notwithstanding the initial "C." and its being "precisely that of Lord Chesterfield" (this marked in Italics to make it emphatic), that the Junius MSS. "are not in the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield." They are, therefore, not in "the handwriting of Junius"; and on comparing them with some letters by Mr. Dayrolles, "not the slightest resemblance could be traced,"—it was "not possible" that he could have so disguised his handwriting. Fortunately, after "laborious research," two letters were discovered in the handwriting of Mrs. Dayrolles, and "they bore unequivocal marks of identity." Mr. Cramp here does himself injustice. There was no fortune —that is, nothing of accident—in the discovery. We were

quite certain from our experience and observation, that a gentleman of Mr. Cramp's temperament would find some "unequivocal marks" before he concluded his labours:—but the startling fact is, that "the striking resemblance was at once recognized" by Mr. Netherclift.

Now, in our opinion—whatever that may be worth—it would be difficult to find the handwriting of two educated persons of that age less alike than that of Junius and that of Mrs. Dayrolles, as presented in the fac-similes here submitted for examination. We do not concern ourselves, with Mr. Cramp, about the likeness of *k*'s and *j*'s or *b*'s and *t*'s, or with the letters separately. All children in a particular age are taught writing on essentially the same principle; and though, when they become practised and skilful, each man forms for himself, unconsciously perhaps, a distinctive character—yet it would be strange indeed if, out of the twenty-six letters, some general, or some particular, resemblance could not be traced between one or two or half-a-dozen of them. But generally there will be found clear and distinct individualities—elements, if they may be so called,—and such there are in the handwriting of Junius, not one of which is to be found in the writing of Mrs. Dayrolles.

This is not an opinion formed at the moment,—and open, therefore, to the charge of being a prejudice against Mr. Cramp's theory. We have examined the Junius MSS. more than once, —and had noted down certain peculiarities. We therefore now turned to the notes made on those occasions:—and in no one instance did Mrs. Dayrolles' handwriting answer to the requirements. It is very difficult to prove what we desire by reference to a fac-simile of only eighteen lines,—yet even these eighteen lines offer evidence which Mr. Netherclift cannot altogether disregard.

First, we had noticed that Junius frequently used the Greek ϵ, or something like it, instead of the small English *e*,—and almost invariably when two *e*'s came together. On turning to the Junius fac-simile, we found both *seen* and *see* as our notes led us to expect. We found this peculiar sign or letter occurring no less than eleven times in the eighteen lines: but

not once—no, nor is there an approach to such a form—in Mrs. Dayrolles' letter. Another peculiarity which our notes led us to look for, was, a tendency to run words together:—and on turning to Mr. Cramp's fac-simile, we find in thirteen lines no less than thirty-five words so linked—often three and four together,—as "goodreasonfornot"—"stateofthings"—"meantthe causeandthepeople." Even on the address, "Paternosterrow" is written as one word:—and when the words are not actually joined, the tendency to join them is manifest in the termination. Now, on reference to Mrs. Dayrolles, the very opposite tendency is equally manifest,—almost to a characteristic peculiarity. She generally ends the word by giving a backward turn to the last stroke, so that it would be impossible to unite it to the next word.—Further, we had observed that Junius almost invariably uses the short sign "&" for "and":—and on referring to Mr. Cramp's fac-simile we found six examples, and no one instance to the contrary,—whereas in Mrs. Dayrolles' letter there is not a single example. Of course, it would be no proof—have no tendency to prove—that any one in whose handwriting like examples were found was either Junius or the amanuensis of Junius; but we hold at least, that the absence of any single instance is conclusive against pretensions founded on similarity of handwriting.

We have thus summarily noticed the claims of Lord Chesterfield and Mrs. Dayrolles: and should have here concluded, but that Mr. Cramp refers incidentally to the Stowe MSS., which, as we lately announced, have been purchased by Mr. Murray, and are about to be published. How many confident assertions hazarded, names, dates, and circumstances assigned will thus be brought to the test! Mr. Cramp takes the Walpole version, and uses it for his own purposes. But we have many other versions of which Mr. Cramp does not appear to be aware,—one confidently put forward in 1828, was, if we remember rightly, re-produced by Mr. Barker. Eventually Mr. Barker, or some of his correspondents, had a version of his, or their, own:—and the *Literary Gazette* had its own peculiar sources of information. The generally received opinion was, that a parcel had been found at Stowe containing three

letters:—one from Junius, under his fictitious signature,—another to George Grenville, asking for legal advice as to the risk of publishing the 'Letter to the King,' with the real name,—and a third inclosing Junius's 'Letter to Lord Mansfield,' with the author's initials. Now, notwithstanding the circumstantial details of this statement, we believe that the only word of truth in it is, that there are three letters at Stowe which are believed to have been written by Junius; but all written, not only before the 'Letter to Mansfield,' before the 'Letter to the King,' but before Junius—as Junius—had put pen to paper; and that the authority for believing that Junius was the writer rests solely on the initial "C." being affixed to them, and on the handwriting. We have not seen these letters; but have heard the contents of them, on authority which we believe to be good. We said long since that the refusal to allow them to be published was creating a purposeless mystification,—and we doubt not publication will justify this opinion. They contain not a word that reflects discredit on Mr. Grenville for whom great admiration is expressed—nor on any other person,—and they remove the writer from all suspicion of interested motives. They tend to show, assuming that they were written by Junius, what we have always asserted,—that he was a middle-class man, an old newspaper correspondent; and we found "C." figuring in the *Public Advertiser* as early as 1766 [see *Athen.* No. 1166]. He lays claim to certain published letters,—hints that he may hereafter become known to Mr. Grenville,—and entreats Mr. Grenville neither to allow the handwriting to be seen nor to mention that he had received such letters. Mr. Grenville, however, did mention it,—the fact was known to contemporaries:—but that the writer was the same person who subsequently figured as Junius could not have been known unless he afterwards communicated the secret to Mr. Grenville. It is a curious fact, however, that at the time, or shortly after, they were referred to as letters by Junius.

From the *Athenæum*, April 5, 1851.

THE JUNIUS AUTOGRAPH.—We have received a letter of explanation from Mr. Netherclift [see *ante* p. 325]. Some persons may have known, what we did not, that his Christian name is Joseph, not Frederick. Others—and the vast majority, we suspect—will have come to the conclusion, that when Mr. Cramp called as evidence a Mr. Netherclift, and described him as "of King William Street—an artist whose skill in his profession is unrivalled"—he meant the Mr. Netherclift of King William Street who has been for many years known to them, and who has won for himself a high reputation. Mr. Frederick Netherclift may have abilities equal to his father,—and we are assured that he is very skilful in making fac-similes; but he is not, we submit, the "unrivalled" Netherclift. Certainly, he is not so old as his father:—and what startled us was, that an old and experienced man should, on such evidence, have pronounced off-hand so unconditional a judgment. Mr. Cramp's words are:—"two letters were found in the handwriting of Mrs. Dayrolles; * * they bore *unequivocal marks of identity* when compared with the autograph of Junius. The striking resemblance was, *at once*, recognized *by the skilful artist*," &c. Here, again, it appears, we have fallen into error. It was Mr. Cramp who found the "unequivocal marks of identity." "The skilful artist" only saw a "striking resemblance;" and as to the "artist whose skill is unrivalled"—Mr. Netherclift the father—he informs us that he did not pronounce judgment at all—"he merely made a passing observation." "Mrs. Dayrolles' fac-simile letter," he says, "with some of Junius's and a few others—Sir Philip Francis's, Tooke's, Chesterfield's, among the rest—were placed before me for inspection; and, *after regretting there was so little of Mrs. Dayrolles' writing to judge from*, I begged Mr. Cramp to furnish more:"—that is to say, he could not on such evidence even offer "a passing observation." As there was another—that is to say, *one* other—

letter of that lady's in the British Museum,—his son "*chose out certain words of resemblance,* and thus formed his plate of comparative character"; and on the one fac-simile letter and the plate of comparative character being together submitted to Mr. Netherclift, he observed—"notwithstanding *the absence of many characteristics which I should have expected,*" the handwriting of Mrs. Dayrolles is "more like that of Junius *than any of the other letters before me;*"—which in our opinion have no likeness at all. Such "a passing observation" is certainly very different from seeing "at once" "unequivocal marks of identity." It amounts to this, and nothing more,—that "not to be worst stands in some rank of praise."

From the *Athenæum*, May 17, 1851.

The Correspondence of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, and the Rev. William Mason. Edited by the Rev. J. Mitford.

Mason,* the author of 'Isis,' 'Elfrida,' 'Caractacus,' 'The English Garden,' 'The Heroic Epistle,' and twenty other works or worklings, known or unknown, was a man of great ability,—a poet of high order, his 'Elfrida,' after many years, still lives in our recollection as a creation beautiful for its simplicity, tenderness, and sweetness,—a satirist whose pen was diamond-pointed,—a painter and a musician, theoretical and practical:—in brief, a man of highly cultivated taste and infinitely varied accomplishments, who excelled in everything that he cared to know or to do,—but who was never popular and never wished to be so,—who ever had and ever will have "fit audience," and desired no other. Mason felt, what Walpole professed to feel—that "public taste is the taste of the public, and it is a prodigious quantity of no tastes, generally governed

* That Mason hated Dr. Johnson is well known; but see his life of Whitehead. Mason had no great liking for Chs. Townshend, I infer from reference to him:—That he had no liking for Garrick is also well known.

by some very bad taste." As a man he was generous, humane, and full of sympathy for suffering humanity, whether in individuals or in nations. His conduct to the poor poet-parson and others, and to his wife's family, is sufficient evidence of the one,—and his eternal war with public abuses, civil or ecclesiastical, of the other. He was a Whig and something more, until frightened in his old age by the French Revolution, —a Parliamentary Reformer, and strenuous for shortening the duration of Parliaments, "the great condition," as Junius called it, "of every barrier raised in defence of the Constitution." Thus, in reference to the celebrated Yorkshire Address in 1781, he wrote to Walpole as follows.—

"I fear that address will not quite quadrate with your sentiments, but I must be bold to tell you that it does entirely with mine, so much so, that I believe had an association been formed on the same principles thirty years ago, I should have been as ready to have joined it then, as at present, for I know of no moment since I have ever been able to think of political matters that the glaring defects of Parliamentary representation have not appeared to me in the same light which they do at present."

It is curious that no Memoir, worthy the name, should have been published of such a man:—none, we believe, beyond the common compilations in our magazines and dictionaries. Even the collected edition of his works in four volumes, issued some time after his death, does not, if we remember rightly, contain a single paragraph about the writer. Yet, Mason left especial instructions that his works should be collected and published under the advice of his friend Dr. Burgh; with this limitation—an interlineation in his will—all works which "have been already published *with my name*."

As we have Walpole and Mason here associated together, we may as well refer at once to what has been generally considered an odd conjecture by Sir Charles Grey,—that Walpole had a principal share in the composition and publication of the Letters of Junius, and that Mason, or some other friend, gave precision and force to the most striking passages. The original

pamphlet which contained this speculation was, as we understand, transmitted from India to the late Lord Holland, and by his advice suppressed:—the Francis story being at that time devoutly believed in. The substance of it, however, has since crept out in a letter to the late editor of the Walpole Correspondence. Sir Charles Grey does not argue the question with much knowledge of the subject, and the conjecture itself rests on assumptions often erroneous; but whether well or ill supported, whether right or wrong, it is by no means the wildest conjecture that we have heard. It is true, that at the particular period Walpole was for months together in Paris; but, as we now know, this objection is not insurmountable. In the case of Mason, many a political skit which startled by the intimate knowledge that it betrayed, not only of Court and City politics and of Ministerial and opposition tactics, but of the very privacies and sanctities of individual life, came from a quiet country parsonage, situate in the then remote wilds or wolds of Yorkshire,—and this was done by and through a London agency with perfect secrecy and security. But Mr. Mitford has objections which he considers conclusive.—

"It is clear that Mason and Walpole were united in their party feelings and political opinions; that they joined their forces in poetry and prose, in numerous attacks on the public characters of the day, and that they appear quite unreserved in their communications on all such subjects; that their correspondence was going on during the time Junius was in *full blow*, and yet that there is not the most faint allusion, that suspicion could rest upon, to the subject. It is quite clear to me that if Walpole wrote Junius, Mason must have known the secret."

We submit to Mr. Mitford that the Correspondence, as here published, does not bear out either his statement or his inference. So far as his own authority goes—the authority of the volumes before us—the Correspondence was *not* carried on while Junius was "in full blow." It began in 1763—struggled on formally and lazily up to 1765, then dropped—was resumed for a post or two in 1769—and again all was silent until 1772.

In fact, in the seven years from April, 1765, to the close of January, 1772—and this includes the whole of the flowering season of Junius—we have but six letters, four from Walpole and two from Mason. It may, however, be important to notice, that the Correspondence was resumed in 1769 with much greater familiarity than it closed in 1765, and with proofs that intermediate letters have been lost or suppressed; rejected perhaps, editorially, as of little interest. On this point Mr. Mitford can speak positively. We agree, too, with Sir Charles Grey, that there are passages as well as opinions wonderfully alike in the writings of Junius and in those of Walpole, —nay, further, that there are passages curiously alike in the private letters of Walpole and in the private letters of Junius to Woodfall. There is an instance now before us. Walpole writes,—"Whoever can descry connexion between this instant and anything that is to come, is the maximus of all Apollo's:" —so, Junius to Woodfall—"If Mr. Horne answers this letter handsomely and in point, he shall be my great Apollo." Again, Walpole writes to Mason—"Obedience is better than sacrifice:"—so, Junius privately to Wilkes—"I am treated as other gods usually are, with sacrifice and ceremony in abundance, and very little obedience." It is further certain that, subsequently, Walpole and Mason fought together in their chivalry—agreed generally in their political opinions, which were somewhat extreme—and were equally violent and vindictive against personal or political opponents.

Still, the difficulties to be overcome, and the inconsistencies to be reconciled, are very great. It is difficult to believe that at a time when Walpole had retired from parliament in weariness and disgust, he would enter on the labours which mark the career of Junius. It is true that Junius more than once resolved to bring those labours to a close simply because they were labours,—which is consistent with our idea of Walpole; and yet he did proceed—stimulated perhaps by vanity flattered by public approbation,—which is not inconsistent with it. But after all, there remains the great and intolerable labour—"the blinding myself with poring over journals, debates and parlia-

mentary history"—and that for years together, which seems to us beyond the fixity of purpose or even temper of Walpole. Nor can we bring ourselves to believe that Walpole would for any purpose of mystification or concealment have written bitterly and contemptuously of Conway—though he might at any moment and in mere wantonness have had a fling at Lord Hertford—this, too, in a private letter to Wilkes; and emphatically we doubt whether Walpole had the civil courage to dare to publish those letters even if he had the power to have written them. The risks, responsibilities and consequences ran counter to the whole scheme of his life, as laid down on retiring from Parliament. We repeat—he would not, we suspect, if he could.

Under all circumstances, it seems to us strange that it never suggested itself to Sir Charles Grey, nor, so far as we know, to any other person, that Mason both could and would,—we do not say that he did. Nor does it follow, as might be inferred from Mr. Mitford's argument, that if he were the writer the fact must have been known to Walpole,—some "faint allusion" must have peeped out in their confidential correspondence. As we have had occasion to observe, no contemporary correspondence has been published out of which it could peep: further, there is no evidence that should lead us to believe that any such intimacy existed at the Junius period between Walpole and Mason as Mr. Mitford assumes. On the contrary, Mason, in 1781, referring to 1769, speaks of it as "a time when I could not boast that I had so much of your friendship as I verily believe I have at present." But though *we* do not say that Mason was the writer, Boyd—whom Chalmers, and Campbell, and Almon, and others believed to be Junius, and whom many, for one reason or another, assume to have been the amanuensis or agent of Junius—told Mrs. Boyd that the 'Heroic Epistle' was written by Junius; and we now know that the 'Heroic Epistle' was written by Mason. It is curious, too, that Mason so early as May, 1773, couples these *secrets* together.—

"Our talk," he writes, "was entirely on general subjects

and literary matters, such as Sir John D. and A. Stewart's book, and 'The Heroic Epistle.' I controverted none of his opinions, only as he seemed to think that the Epistle had merit, I ventured to say that I thought it worthy of Soame Jennyns, had it suited his polite sentiments: he replied, 'so it was, but S. J. would never have used that *harsh* kind of satire.' From his Lordship's account I find that it is generally supposed to be Temple Lutterell's, although Almon declares it to be the work of a young man, and his first work. *After all we live in an age of miracles, that two such writers as he and Junius should keep themselves concealed.*"

Wraxall, too, a contemporary, linked the words together—"The 'Heroic Epistle,'" he says, "rivalled Junius in delicacy of invective."*

Mason, indeed, was at that time one of the King's chaplains. This is not exactly the situation in which we should expect to find Junius; but being there, it is just the place to

* There are two or three passages in Madame D'Arblay's Diary worth quoting. The reader distinguishing carefully between what she thought and *why* she *thought* Mrs. Delany acted.

To Dr. Burney, Nov. 29, 1796. "I would risk my new cottage against sixpence, that I have guessed the author of 'Pursuits of Literature.' Is it not Mr. Mason? * * Who else, &c. &c. Who, so singularly, be for *the sovereigns*—the *governments*, yet palpably not for George the Third, nor for William Pitt," V. 6, p. 88. Again, 16 Dec., "I, too, thought the prose of the 'Pursuits of Literature' too spirited and good for Mr. Mason, when compared with what I have seen of his general letters; but he has two styles, in prose as well as in poetry, and *I have seen compositions, rather than epistles*, which he wrote formerly to Mrs. Delany, *so full of satire, point, and epigrammatic severity, and derision*, upon those of their mutual acquaintance whom he confidentially named, that I feel not the least scruple for my opinion. In those letters with which that revered old friend entrusted me, when her eyesight failed for reading them herself, *there were also many ludicrous sketches of certain persons and caricatures as strong of the pencil as of the pen. They were written in his season of democracy*, and my dear Mrs. Delany made me destroy all that were mischievous. *The highest personages*, with whom she was not then peculiarly, as afterwards, connected, *were held up to so much ridicule*, that her early regard and esteem diminished as her loyalty increased; and immediately upon taking possession of the house given her at Windsor by the King, she struck the name of Mr. Mason from her Will, in which she had bequeathed him her Sacharissa, which he had particularly admired, and left it to me. I did not know this till she was no more, when Mr. Agnew informed me of the period of the alteration."—V. 6, p. 90.

hear all the back-stairs gossip of the Court, and learn all the personal feelings and concernments of royalty. This, if it did not breed love was sure to breed hate; and Mason hated the King and all connected with him,—as these letters prove. He had indeed a positive aversion and contempt for the King, as is manifest in his satirical writings; and the King in return hated Mason.

> Saw you not Mason stand with downcast eye
> While great Augustus passed unconscious by?

So sang the loyal bard in the 'Pursuits of Literature':—but this was after the publication of the 'Heroic Epistle,' and cannot therefore be allowed much weight. It is certain, however, that early in 1773, Mason, for some reason or other, abandoned all idea of "any further ecclesiastical preferment,"—speaks of "ambition annihilated,"—and resigned his situation of Court chaplain.* Many stories were current, and even published, as to his intention, and his reasons for so doing; and he was in consequence anxious to withdraw in such form and at such time as might be most respectful to—*not* the King, but Walpole's friend, the Lord Chamberlain, with whom rested the appointment of his successor. His resignation was indeed the result of a public insult given him by His or Her Majesty, and which led to a public scandal. These are the facts as told by Walpole on the authority of Mason.—Mason "being one of the King's chaplains, and it being his turn to preach before the royal family, the Queen ordered another to perform the office. But when this substitute began to read prayers, Mason also began the same service. He did not say whether he proceeded, but this I had from his own mouth. Mason consequently resigned the chaplainship."

These facts speak clearly enough of a foregone conclusion. What was it? In what did the King and Queen's personal

* Another coincidence of which the Junius discoverers would make something significant is this—Junius concluded his "great labours" Jan. 1772—for want, as he says, of something better to do, he fired a few wild shots at Barrington, but he was silent for ever before or early in May, 1772. In *May*, 1773, the Heroic Epistle was published, followed by the Heroic Postscript, 1774; Ode to Pinchbeck, 1776; Epistle to Shebbeare, 1777.

dislike originate? The 'Heroic Epistle' was scarcely dry from the printer's, and surely not then known to have been written by Mason. But his principles were known,—and probably a great deal more was known than we have heard of or than he supposed: for we know little or nothing of Mason's doings or sayings at that early period. There is a paragraph in Wraxall wherein we find Mason in strange company.—

"At the Peace of 1763, Lord Bute had sacrificed or restored to France and Spain almost all the acquisitions of Pitt. Wilkes and 'Junius,' aided by Churchill and *Mason*, had covered with opprobrium or with ridicule the Ministers employed between the Treaty of Fontainebleau and the commencement of the American War."

When and where was Mason a co-operating party?—we only know that he was laughed at and satirized by Churchill. When and where did Mason attack Bute or the Peace of Fontainebleau or Ministers generally?

This, however, appears certain—Mason hated the King, and rarely mentioned him but with scorn and contempt. Here is a passage not unlike Junius:—

"Here I sit, with my pen in my hand, muzzled like a mastiff, wishing to bite, and yet unable to even bark. Convinced of this melancholy truth that no situation however independent, no desires or ambition however moderate, nay even (as I can truly say) annihilated, will authorize a man in these days to do what he thinks right. Unless he is as callous as a prime minister, and as unfeeling as his master."

So, in a poetic "Epistle" to Walpole, when referring to the exposure of Lauder and Bower by Dr. Douglas, he thus writes.—

> But times are chang'd e'en Douglas' self must own,
> Since Scottish King-craft re-assumed the throne.
> Now Bower and Lauder, were they Both alive,
> With Wit would figure, and by Parts would thrive.
> Ill-fated Pair! whom that blind Midwife Time
> Dragged into birth some years before t'.eir Prime;
> And ruthless Death drove to the realms of night
> Some years before our glorious Fifty-eight.

Else worthy Pair! crown'd with a Court's attention,
Macpherson's self had got but half your Pension,
And still inspired by Hunger's urgent call,
Created every month a new Fingal.

Even so late as 1780 there had been no diminution of Mason's bitterness.—

"I long prodigiously for authentic Windsor Anecdotes, and from the hand of the author of 'Anecdotes of Painting,' who can paint them in their proper colours, black and all black—but I believe they will require still blacker colouring than black, and as Hamlet says, 'a suit of sables.'"

In another passage in the "Heroic Postscript" he thus refers to the loyal topic of the day, the King's visit to the fleet at Spithead.—

—— post whene'er the Goddess led the way.
Perchance to proud Spithead's imperial bay;
There should he see, as others may have seen,
That ships have anchors, and that seas are green,
Should own the tackling trim, the streamers fine,
With S—d—h prattle and with B—d—w dine,
And then sail back, amid the cannons' roar,
As safe, as sage, as when he left the shore.

Again—

"I know not how it is, I grow as lazy, as lollopping as ———— a king, and as little inclined to keep on good terms with my correspondents as he with his subjects. After making a simile so humiliating to myself, and feeling, as Mr. Ansty has it, *the conscious blush of self-condemning*—not *praise*, but *truth*, I hope you will acquit me without further apology."

It is always thus:—and yet he had a line of contempt to spare for Her Majesty. Thus, when Walpole bought the Digby miniatures, Mason thus wrote,—and thus betrayed his chaplain-knowledge of the inner life of the Court.—

"I congratulate you on your new miniatures, though I know one day they will become Court property, and dangle under the crimson-coloured shop-glasses of our gracious Queen Charlotte."

We suspect, too, that he had no great love for the Queen

Dowager, or his friend would not have written to him after the following fashion.—

"Mr. Garrick has cut out the scene of the gravediggers in Hamlet. I hope he will be rewarded with a place in the French Academy. I was indeed surprised at that play being revived by so good a courtier.—*The adulterous Queen of Denmark* was certainly revived with great propriety just now. I suppose *grave-diggers* shock kings and queens more than the gallantries of their relations."

Mason hated Mansfield, too,—and tells the following story.—

"In 1745, when the rebels were at Derby and subscriptions were going on in London, a certain (then) barrister [Lord Mansfield]* at Lincoln's Inn was called upon by a parish officer for his name, &c., he was treated as a man should be that solicits an illegal unconstitutional subscription. The rebels retreated from Derby. The barrister flew immediately to the parish officer's house to put down his name; the P. O. was from home, had locked up the book; a blacksmith was called for to break open the bureau, and the name was inserted! This parish officer lived either in Long Acre, or Great Queen Street. This I had from good authority."

He hated Bute and the Scotch generally, and heartily. This is equally true of Walpole, who thus wrote in 1781.—

"Pray look into the *Critical Review* last but one; there you will find that David Hume, in a saucy, blockheadly note, calls Locke, Algernon Sidney, and Bishop Hoadly, *despicable writers*. I believe that ere long the Scotch will call the English *lousy!* and that Goody Hunter will broach the assertion in an anatomic lecture. Not content with debasing and disgracing us as a nation by losing America, destroying our Empire, and making us the scorn and prey of Europe, the Scotch would annihilate our patriots, martyrs, heroes, and geniuses. Algernon

* "Corrector of the press to Dalrymple," explained in note to be 'Lord Mansfield.' See letter announcing a contemplated Poem—Poetical Works of Author of Heroic Epistle—Pref. iv. and Epistle to Shebbeare, line 108, &c.

Sidney, Lord Russell, King William, the Duke of Marlborough, Locke, are to be traduced and levelled, and, with the aid of their fellow-labourer, Johnson, who spits at them while he tugs at the same oar, Milton, Addison, Prior, and Gray are to make way for the dull forgeries of Ossian, and such wights as Davy and Johnny Hume, Lord Kaims, Lord Monboddo and Adam Smith!—Oh!—if you have a drop of English ink in your veins, rouse and revenge your country! Do not let us be run down and brazened out of all our virtue, genius, sense, and taste, by Laplanders and Bœotians, who never produced one original writer in verse or prose."

Yet even Walpole, when Mason submitted to him the proof sheets of his 'Life of Gray,' in 1774, remonstrated against the wanton provocation therein given.* To which Mason replied:—

"I have cried *peccavi* in so many and long periphrases to Stonehewer and Dr. Hurd, that I have no more words left to express my contrition. I will, therefore, only say to you, that only have patience with me, and I will cancel every syllable that can offend either Mr. Macpherson, or the most itchy highlander that ever came to a register office in search of *perfarment*. I now know and feel my old English nothingness, and I never speak to my Scotch printer's Scotch devil without rising from my writing-desk, and desiring him to be seated."

Mason, indeed, long after, could not preach a sermon in the metropolitan church before his Metropolitan without political allusions and a fling at the Scotch. He himself acknowledges that certain country gentlemen were "highly incensed" at this; and on one occasion he consulted Walpole as to the propriety of publishing. Walpole was evidently startled.—

"I return you the sermon, and would not advise its being printed unless much clamoured against—when, as all objections

* It is curious, to us who know the author of the Heroic Epistle and his relation to Gray, to see that Almon, who did *not* (the original publisher of H. E.) observed in collected edition, 1805—that Gray's Elegy and H. E. were the two most popular short Poems of the century, &c. &c. See Pref. vi.

are exaggerated, it will appear less offensive than was expected. *I would certainly have the two passages on Dalrymple's History and the Sons of the Scottish Rebels softened.*"

Even the Metropolitan himself, who had been preceptor to the Prince of Wales, got more than one handful,—

> —grave as Pope and gruff as Turk,
> Pedantic schoolmaster—like York.
> 'The Dean and Squire,' lines 183, 4.

Junius hated Sandwich,—so did Mason. "That old hewretch," as he calls him in the Ode to Mr. Pinchbeck. Walpole and Mason both hated the Bedfords; and Mason carried the licence of attack beyond the limits of honourable warfare, and wrote of Junius's "venerable Gertrude" with no less bitterness.—

"Political matters seem now to be in such a state as to resemble the reign of chaos and old night, nay, to be the identical thing, but as that state was not without its deity, therefore in order to keep myself out of an uncomfortable atheistical way of thinking, I intend to worship Old Night in the form of that brazen image, commonly called the Dutchess of Bedford. I hope you will join with me in my devotions."

In brief, Mason hated or despised the King, the Queen, and all belonging to them; the ministers, generally and individually,—their policy, their principles, and their friends —even down to Dyson and Bradshaw. Six years after Junius was silent, the Junius *dramatis personæ* reappear in this correspondence:—

"We have a thousand things to talk over, and are almost reduced to be the only two of the same opinion. * * Wedderburne sits down with the Attorney's place, a disappointment and I suppose a full promise. Norton threatened to impeach him if Peered, for telling the chief justice that Lord North would pay him out of the treasury seven thousand pounds for the prothonotary's reversion. Thus justice makes a rope of one rogue, instead of using two ropes. I shall certainly not go to the funeral [of Chatham]—I go to no puppet-shows, nor

want to see Lord Chatham's water-gall Lord Temple hobble chief mourner. I scarce inquire after the House of Commons, which is a scene of folly and Billingsgate. Burgoyne has tried to be the pathetic hero, and was forgotten for three hours, while Temple, Lutterel, and Lord G. Germaine scolded like two oyster women; the first tried to be sent to Newgate, and the latter grasped his sword, and then asked pardon for having been grossly affronted. Lord Barrington implored madam his country's tears for declaring he was retiring from her service to virtuous privacy. It is a pity she did not order him to be buried at the public expense; Lord Sandwich has run the gauntlet in the Lords for all the lies he has told all the winter about the fleet, and does not retire, but I am sick of repeating what you must be sick of reading."

In reference to Mason's writings, Walpole said, in 1778:—

"I had written thus far when I received your second part by Mr. Alderson; you desire me not to write, but to bring you my answer, and odd as the request is, I shall obey it for two reasons; the first is, that the impression of your seal is so sharp, that I am convinced all or most of those you send by the post have been opened. The second is, that your modesty would not permit me to tell you to your face how much I am charmed with your poetry. You have an original talent for this style, that without resembling either, is much more like Horace's than Pope's was; and instead of piddling with petty dunces, you gibbet greater dunces and much greater rogues. Nay, you do what history cannot, for you record their villanies, and if history's majestic gravity could contrive to register them, yet nobody would read what ought to be enrolled only by the ordinary of Newgate, but when you make your readers laugh at our state culprits, they will remember them. There are two odd rencontres in your second part that I must mention, you have introduced the Duke of Richmond, who is one of the virtuous few that is worthy of such a pen as yours, and was in my eye in the foregoing page, and you have brought in Pope, and Lord Mansfield, which I have done too in my narrative, as you will see though for a different quotation, but in short, you have made my narrative useless; you have anticipated it

by inspiration, and Apollo has made you prophet as well as a poet. * * The crisis of this country will soon put all men to the test; brand the guilty and reward the good; and since the fountain of honour is now the channel of corruption, wrench the chalice from his hand and dispense the waters to the deserving. The moment is coming I think when the constitution may be restored, though not the empire. If they who call themselves patriots flinch from their duty they will deserve your lash, still more than the present crew. I have no great hopes, though the moment is so propitious (as it is a repetition of precedent lessons), for showing that the folly of tyranny leads directly to the destruction of darling prerogative. I have sometimes thought, so servile has been the copy, that Lord Mansfield has drawn out the steps of James II. and recommended them one by one, in order to ruin the house of Hanover by the same manœuvres that paved the way to the crown. Or he was a woeful or a most presumptuous politician, to flatter himself he could succeed where Jefferies and Jesuits failed. In short, he and the Scotch have no way of redeeming the credit of their understandings, but by avowing that they have been consummate villains. *Stavano bene; per star meglio, stanno qui.*"

Mason despised some of the opposition,—and Junius and Mason selected from its parti-coloured benches the same man for their especial contempt. Junius, we know, went out of his way to insult Calcraft; "who riots," he said, "in the plunder of the army, and only determined to be a patriot when he could not be a peer." So, when Walpole suggested that Mr. Martin, the reversionary heir to his place, should have a niche in the new edition of the 'Heroic Epistle,' Mason replied in his enigmatical fashion, and speaking as if the work had been written by a stranger,—

"I was sorry to see a chasm in the 95th line; 'tis a reflection upon the age we live in that it was not fill'd up. No name could be more proper than Martin's now that Calcraft is dead, and I adopt that reading in my own study."

Mason hated Garrick, Junius's "informer" and pantomimist; and when Colman brought out 'Elfrida,' without a "with your

leave or by your leave," the fact that Garrick was annoyed at having been anticipated "would," he says, "almost lead me to forgive Colman." Walpole and Mason had, apparently, a personal knowledge of "Swinney"—which is not improbable, as the army chaplain dedicated his 'Battle of Minden' to Lord Waldegrave,—and speak familiarly of him, as Junius did:—"Swinney used to tell a story," &c. This may justify a conjecture which we threw out long since, that the man who could call on Lord George Sackville—"the coward of Minden," as Mason calls him—and ask if he were the writer of 'Junius's Letters,' was just the man to tell the story of his unconscious "impertinence." Then Junius, who had only a newspaper existence, begins his letter to Horne with the affectation,—"Sir, I cannot descend to an altercation with you in the newspapers:"—and Mason, who all his life had been flashing, and squibbing in newspapers, and was at that very moment preparing for a grand display of such fireworks, assures the Lord Chamberlain that "it is beneath me to be impertinent in a newspaper." We learn, too, from Mr. Mitford, that "the orthography of proper names in the correspondence of both writers is unusually inaccurate and uncertain:—So, if we may judge by the examples remaining, was the orthography of Junius.

In Mason, as we have shown, there was not a trace of the Court Chaplain:—but the spirit of an earnest, passionate politician speaks in every page of these volumes. Send me information, is the tone of more than one letter,—"for I am eager to be doing something, and never in a better humour, for I was never in a worse." When the 'Crisis' was ordered by the House of Commons to be burnt, Mason refers to the subject, and to the pension conferred by Bute, under George the Third, on Shebbeare, who had been pilloried under George the Second.—

"As to the two Crisis's you mention, I can only say I envy their fate; to be burnt by the common hangman is a thing devoutly to be wished. No fate except that of the pillory exceeds it. I would be content with even an unpensioned pillory; and yet this stern fate denies me. However, that you

may run no risk of either from receiving this letter, I shall prudently put it under a Secretary of State's cover."

If Mason were Junius, through what agency did he work? It is impossible without a careful examination of this Correspondence to conceive the infinite variety and curious refinements and mystifications by which on like occasions Mason sought and secured secrecy. Sometimes, when the Chaplain was on duty, he perhaps communicated with the Printer instantly, but through his London agent:—perhaps always through this agent. Was it Baines, or another who is more than once incidentally referred to?—or the nameless party here mentioned?—

"If the person who brings this should chance to meet with you at home, he will tell you all I know of myself, and of my motions, *nor is he ignorant of the contents*, for I know *he may be trusted.*"

We have the blunders of his "amanuensis Charles" apologized for. On another occasion Dr. Burgh acted as amanuensis. In reference to the political sermon, Walpole says,—"I do not know who was the transcriber:"—meaning, I do not recognize the handwriting. The following paragraph shows by what indirect means Mason sometimes arrived at the printer's.—

"I send you the inclosed very hastily scribbled, which I shall be very much obliged to you if you will correct and get fairly transcribed, and afterwards sent as soon as may be to Mr. J. Stockdale, Bookseller, in Piccadilly, by the penny post. I would wish it to appear in the *London Courant* as soon as possible; I would not give you this trouble were there anybody in town that I could apply to at present, but as you are yourself my old friend at the *Smyrna*, I hope you will not fail me."

Was his friend Dr. Burgh a co-operating party? Mason describes Burgh as a young Irish gentleman, brother-in-law to Mr. Hussey, of the Irish House of Commons, living at York, and "of the quickest parts and most general knowledge I ever

met with"—a Whig, and something more—that is, "one of us *au merveil*"; who lost an honorary degree at Oxford for having dedicated a work to Edmund Burke, and therein expressed a doubt "whether the fountain of honour was much purer than ditch water."

Enough, in all conscience, of what may be thought an idle speculation. Our apology is, briefly, that such speculations are just now the fashion; that such coincidences are at least curious; and that in the case of Mason it is a physical possibility,—which is more than can be said of all claimants to the honour. The reader, too, will be pleased to remember that we have been somewhat unexpectedly called on to improvise a Junius, without leisure or opportunity for deliberation or even examination.—We will only add, that if the fox now uncovered does not give the reader a good day's sport,—we have another which we lately ran to ground, and which shall be unearthed for his amusement.

From *Notes and Queries*, 24th May, 1851.

MACLEAN NOT JUNIUS.

YOUR correspondent ÆGROTUS is not justified in writing so confidently on a subject respecting which he is so little informed. He is evidently not even aware that the claims of Maclean have been ably and elaborately set forth by Sir David Brewster, and, as I think, conclusively, on the evidence, set aside in the *Athenæum*. He has, however, been pleased to new vamp some old stories, to which he gives something of novelty by telling them "with a difference." I remember, indeed, four or five years since, to have seen a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Pickering, the bookseller, to the late Sir Harris Nicolas, in which the same statements were made, supported by the same authorities,—which, in fact, corresponded so exactly with the communication of ÆGROTUS, that I must believe either that your correspondent has seen that letter, or that both writers had their information from a common story-teller.

Respecting the "vellum-bound copy" locked up in the ebony cabinet in possession of the late Marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. Pickering's version came nearer to the authority; for he said, "*My informant saw* the bound volumes and the cabinet *when a boy*." The proof then rests on the recollection of an Anonymous, who speaks positively as to what took place nearly half a century since; and this anonymous boy, we are to believe, was already so interested about Junius as to notice the fact at the time, and remember it ever after. Against the probabilities of this we might urge, that the present Marquis, who was born in 1780, and came to the title in 1809, is probably as old, or older than Anonymous; as much interested in a question believed by many persons, ÆGROTUS amongst them, intimately to concern his father, and quite as precocious, for he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1805—never saw or heard of either the volumes or the cabinet; and, as ÆGROTUS admits, after a search expressly made by his order, they could not be found. Further, allow me to remind you, that it is not more than six weeks since it was recorded in *Notes and Queries* that a "vellum-bound" Junius was lately sold at Stowe; and it is about two months since I learnt, on the same authority that a Mr. Cramp had asserted that vellum-bound copies were so common, that the printer must have taken the Junius copy as a pattern; so that if ÆGROTUS's facts be admitted, they would prove nothing. There is one circumstance, however, bearing on this question, which perhaps ÆGROTUS himself will think entitled to some weight. It was not until 1812, when George Woodfall published the private letters of Junius, that the public first heard about "a vellum-bound" copy. If therefore the Anonymous knew before 1809 that some special interest did or would attach more to one vellum-bound book than another, he must be Junius himself; for Sampson Woodfall was dead, and when living had said nothing about it.

ÆGROTUS then favours us with the anecdote about "old Mr. Cox," the printer, and that Maclean corrected the proofs of *Junius's Letters* at his printing-office. Of course, persons acquainted with the subject have heard the story before,

though not with all the circumstantialities now given. Where, I might ask, is the authority for this story? Who is responsible for it? But the emphatic question which common sense will ask is this: Why should Junius go to Mr. Cox's printing-office to correct his proofs? Where he wrote the letters he might surely have corrected the proofs. Why, after all his trouble, anxiety, and mystification to keep the secret, should he needlessly go to anybody's printing-office to correct the proofs, and thus wantonly risk the consequences?—in fact, go there and betray himself, as we are expected to believe he did? The story is absurd on the face of it. But what authority has ÆGROTUS for asserting that Junius corrected proofs at all? Strong presumptive evidence leads me to believe that he did not: in some instances he could not. In one instance he specially desired to have a proof; but it was, as we now know, for the purpose of forwarding it to Lord Chatham. Junius was also anxious to have proofs of the Dedication and Preface, but it is by no means certain that he had them; the evidence tends to show that they were, at Woodfall's request, and to remove from his own shoulders the threatened responsibility, read by Wilkes: and the collected edition was printed from Wheble's edition, so far as it went, and the remainder from slips cut from the *Public Advertiser*, both corrected by Junius; but we have no reason to believe that Junius ever saw a proof even of the collected edition,—many reasons that tend strongly to the contrary opinion. Under these circumstances, we are required to believe an anonymous story, which runs counter to all evidence, that we may superadd an absurdity.

Mr. Pickering further referred to Mr. Raphael West, as one who "could tell much on the subject." Here ÆGROTUS enlarges on the original, and tells us what this "much" consisted of. The story, professedly told by Benjamin West, about Maclean and Junius, on which Sir David Brewster founded his theory, may be found in Galt's 'Life of West.' But Galt himself, in his subsequent autobiography, admits that the story told by West "does not relate the actual circumstances of the case correctly;" that is to say, Galt had found out, in

the interval, that it was open to contradiction and disproof, and it has since been disproved in the *Athenæum*. So much for a story discredited by the narrator himself. Of these facts ÆGROTUS is entirely ignorant, and therefore proceeds by the following extraordinary circumstantialities to uphold it. The late President of the Royal Academy knew Maclean; and his son, the late Raphael West, *told the writer of these remarks* [ÆGROTUS himself] that *when a young man* he had seen him [Maclean] in the evening at his father's house in Newman Street, and *once heard him repeat a passage in one of the letters which was not then published;*" and ÆGROTUS adds, "a more correct and veracious man than Mr. R. West could not be." So be it. Still it is strange that the President, who was said to have told his anecdote expressly to show that Maclean was Junius, never thought to confirm it by the conclusive proof of having read the letters before they were published! Further, —and we leave the question of extreme accuracy and *veraciousness* to be settled by ÆGROTUS,—the President West was born in 1738; he embarked from America for Italy in 1759; on his return he visited England in 1763, and such was the patronage with which he was welcomed, that his friends recommended him to take up his residence in London. This he was willing to do, provided a young American lady to whom he was attached would come to England. She consented; his father accompanied her, and they were married on the 2nd of September, 1765, at St. Martin's Church. Now Maclean embarked for India in December, 1773, or January, 1774, and was lost at sea, when "the young man," Master Raphael, could not have been more than seven years of age,—nay, to speak by the card, as Master Raphael heard one of Junius's letters read before it was published, and as the last was published in January, 1772, it follows, assuming that he was the eldest child, born in nine months to the hour, and that it was the very last letter that he heard read, he *may have been* five years and seven months old—a very "young man," indeed; or rather, all circumstances considered, as precocious a youth as he who found out the vellum-bound copy years before it was known to be in existence.

I regret to have occupied so much of your space. But speculation on this subject is just now the fashion. "NOTES AND QUERIES" is likely hereafter to become an authority, and if these circumstantial statements are admitted into its columns, they must be as circumstantially disproved.—M. J. [Mr. Dilke.]

Junius Rumours * (Vol. v. pp. 125, 159, 474).—"N. & Q." contains abundant speculation about the "Vellum-bound" to which your correspondent refers (p. 474). Some persons, I know, consider it doubtful whether the printer did have a copy bound in vellum as Junius directed, and they strengthen their doubts by, as they assert, no such copy having ever been met with. Mr. CRAMP, on the contrary, maintains that such copies are so common, that the printer must have taken the Junius copy as a pattern. As Mr. CRAMP, I observe, is become a correspondent of "N. & Q.," I will take leave to direct his attention to the question asked by V. B. (Vol. iii., p. 262.) Others, again, assuming that the printer did have a copy specially bound for Junius, think it doubtful whether it ever reached him. Of these differences and speculations your correspondent is evidently unaware; and he therefore raises a question as if it were new, which has been under discussion for thirty years. As a set-off, however, he favours us with an entirely original anecdote, so original, that neither the anecdote nor the tea-service were ever heard of by H. S. Woodfall's family. Yet it must be admitted that his story has all the characteristics of authenticity—names, dates, places. I know, indeed, but one objection, viz., that Mr. Woodfall never was "in prison on account of the publication of these redoubtable letters." He was tried, but *acquitted*, under the somewhat celebrated verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing *only*."—T. S. W. [Mr. Dilke.]

* *Junius Rumours* (Vol. v., pp. 125, 159).—In spite of the memorable declaration of Junius that his secret should perish with him, and the hitherto unsatisfactory attempts that have been made to draw him from his hiding-place, I have ever felt assured that he will eventually be unearthed. After half a century's active exertion, the "Iron Mask" was unveiled.

I recollect that, somewhere in Woodfall's edition, is a letter from Junius, requiring a copy of the letters to be sent him, bound in a particular manner and colour, which, at the time that edition came out, was thought likely to afford a

The Vellum-bound Junius (Vol. iii., p. 262.)—Your correspondent Mr. HAGGARD tells us, that from the time he read the private correspondence between Junius and Woodfall he has examined all book catalogues that came in his way, in the hope of finding a copy, or the copy, "bound in vellum"—so bound by Woodfall, for and at the express desire of Junius. Of course the edition so bound was "the author's edition," as Junius calls it, the edition of 1772, printed by H. J. Woodfall. At last, says Mr. HAGGARD, "*the long-wished for object appeared at the Stowe sale;*" but though he bid eight pounds, he was not so fortunate as to obtain it. Thus far all is simple and clear enough. But then Mr. HAGGARD subsequently informs us (Vol. iii., p. 307), that the reason of his "being so desirous to procure this copy" was, because it was "not only bound in vellum, but was printed on that article"—that is, as I understand it, because it was *not* the copy bound by Woodfall for Junius. I am at a loss to reconcile these statements. However, as I observe by the periodicals that Mr. HAGGARD's first statement is getting into circulation, and that it now assumes this form—that the vellum-bound copy of Junius presented by Woodfall to Junius was sold at the Stowe sale, I think it right to state, that the Stowe copy, was printed on but *not* bound in vellum, and was not the edition of 1772—not a Woodfall edition at all—but the common illustrated edition, printed more than thirty years after, by Bensley, for Vernor and Hood.—B. B. J. [Mr. Dilke.]

clue to the detection: some such casual notice may not yet be unlikely to lead to the discovery. Many years since, in conversation with an old officer, then barrack-master at Pendennis Garrison, Captain Hall, he related a circumstance that occurred when he was a boy, that curiously impressed itself on his memory. His family and Woodfalls were intimate, and when about ten years old he was taken by his mother to see Woodfall, whilst in prison on account of the publication of these redoubtable letters.

During this visit a tea-service of plate was received by Woodfall as a present from Junius, and was exhibited with no small degree of pride and gratification. Surely two such circumstances could not occur without being known to more than one or two persons; and had the inquiry been keenly followed up, I think, not unreasonably, that a chance might be afforded for the solution of the problem.

JAMES CORNISH.

JUNIUS RUMOURS.

(Vol. v., p. 125.)

The experience of a pretty long life has taught me never to believe a Junius "rumour;" never to believe any story of or concerning Junius, no matter how confidently or circumstantially told, which is not *proved;* and I think the short experience of the Editor of "N. & Q." must have convinced him that what is asserted on men's personal knowledge—the evidence of their own eyes and ears (see case of ÆGROTUS, vol. iii. p. 378), may possibly be untrue, on the proof that it was impossible. Out of respect, however, to "N. & Q.," I will say a few words on the rumours to which JUNIUS QUERIST refers.

One of your correspondent's rumours is to this effect, that an eminent bookseller was lately called in to value certain MSS., and thus accidentally discovered who "Atticus *or* Brutus was, and *consequently* who Junius himself was." This *consequently* is certainly a most astounding *non-sequitur* to those who are reasonably well-informed as to the present state of the Junius question. But let that pass. Still I must observe that your correspondent is dealing with a rumour; that the rumour does not tell us whether the discovery is inferential or positive—relates to Atticus or Brutus: nothing can well be more vague. Now my "rumour" said the discovery was of the writer of the letters of Lucius. Under these circumstances it would be idle to waste another line in speculation: enough for the information of your correspondent, if I add, that in one case the discovery *might* help us to a *conjecture* who Junius *was;* in another, might prove who he was *not.*

As to the "rumours" about the secrets contained in the *Grenville Papers,* they would fill a volume. They have been buzzing about for more than a quarter of a century. The nonsense of one-half was demonstrable by any intelligent person who would have taken the trouble to examine and test them: but nobody did take such trouble. "N. and Q." was

not then in existence. The most plausible, and seemingly, from its circumstantiality, best authenticated version, was given by Mr. Barker, in 1828, to the effect that three letters had been discovered, one of which had a fictitious signature; another asked legal advice of Mr. Grenville as to publishing the letter to the King; and the third enclosed a copy of Junius's letter to Lord Mansfield, signed with the author's initials, and with a reference therein to a letter received from Mr. Grenville.

The publication of the letters will soon put an end to "rumour." Meanwhile the few following facts will dispose of Mr. Barker's circumstantial fictions, and perhaps satisfy your correspondent.

There are amongst the *Grenville Papers* three letters, dated Feb., Sept., and Nov. 1768; the *last* therefore before the *first* Junius was published.

Two of these letters are signed with the initial C.; and, on the similarity of the handwriting, it is assumed that the *three* letters came from the same person. The writer of the *unsigned* letter claims to have written many of the letters which had latterly appeared in the newspapers, and, amongst others, a letter signed Atticus, a copy of which he encloses. This is according to my recollection; but I will not say positively that he does not claim to be the writer of the *letters* signed Atticus. The question, therefore, at present stands thus:—The connexion of these letters with the writer of Junius's letters is an inference or assumption, not a fact. It remains to be proved: and, for anything I know to the contrary, it may hereafter be proved by the editor of the *Grenville Papers*, —a diligent and careful man,—that the unknown writer of the unsigned letter is worthy of belief; that he was the same person who wrote the two letters signed C.; that Mr. Grenville's correspondent C. in 1768, was Woodfall's correspondent C. in 1769; and then, that Mr. Grenville's Atticus was the same Atticus whose four letters were published as written by Junius, by Mr. *George* Woodfall in the edition of 1812. Simple as this last question may appear, and naturally as most persons would come to a conclusion on the subject, I think it

well to mention as a warning, that there were, as admitted in the *Public Advertiser*, two persons who about the same time wrote under that signature, and I think clear evidence of a third writer. J. R. [Mr. Dilke.]

From the *Athenæum*, January 17th, 1852.

JUNIUS.

The Quarterly Review. No. 179. Murray.

THE Junius of our contemporary, as we announced a fortnight since, is Thomas, the second Lord Lyttelton. We doubt not our readers shared in the surprise with which we heard of such a man being put forward on such a claim. Apart from all the logical or historical evidence in the case, the moral conditions out of which to make a Junius had here been selected on a principle so outrageous as to introduce something like a novelty into the discussion. For ourselves, Thomas, Lord Lyttelton lived in our memories as one of the most idle, dissolute, and profligate men of a profligate age. We remembered to have seen his name employed to "point a moral;" himself ranked by Wraxall as one of a triumvirate, unmatched and unmatchable,—Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, pre-eminent in the moral court of Charles the Second,—Philip, Duke of Wharton, immortalized by Pope, who flourished under George the First—and Thomas, Lord Lyttelton, who illustrated the early part of the reign of George the Third. Wraxall did Buckingham and Wharton injustice by this association:—for Thomas Lyttelton was the mere vulgar creature of the hour and of circumstances,—the common type of a common class; who, with all the advantages of birth and fortune, never rose even to the respectable disreputability of the Medmenham brotherhood,—but sank, as it were, by the instincts of his nature to be the companion of the very refuse of society. We, however, knew but little about him,—and others it now appears know little more. At the eneral election in 1768 his father

got him returned for Bewdley. He sat as member for but a short time, the election being declared void;—and there was an end of Thomas Lyttelton until his father's death in 1773, when he entered the House of Lords—took a somewhat active but wayward part in politics—got a good sinecure place, of course—and spoke occasionally with a sort of reckless, dashing facility and ability till within a few days of his death, produced most probably by his own hands in 1779, and in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

There is not much, it must be admitted, in this outline of life and character to suggest that Thomas Lyttelton was the laborious and indefatigable Junius. But the less we know the more room for speculation and conjecture,—and if nothing were known, there is no possibility of contradicting anything that is said. It has sometimes struck us as strange that in all the rage for conjecture on this subject no one had ever hit on any of those immortals—Jones, Smith, or Robinson as the writer. It may be well that the reader should keep this in mind—for it has an important bearing on the subject; though we must before we proceed to the evidence bestow a few words on some preliminary questions.

The edition of the Letters of Junius to which the writer in the *Quarterly* refers and on which he founds his argument, is that of 1814, now commonly known as the edition of Dr. Good and Mr. George Woodfall; and, on a rough estimate, about one half of his authorities of facts, or coincidences, or parallel passages, or whatever they ought to be called, are taken from the Miscellaneous Letters, therein first published. We long since showed on what insufficient authority many of those letters had been attributed to Junius,—that they could not *all* have been written by the same person,—that many of them rest their *sole* claim on a coincidence between the dates of publication and the dates affixed to one or other of the private letters to Sampson Woodfall,—that the dates to fifty-nine or sixty out of the sixty-three private letters were affixed conjecturally by the editors of the edition of 1814,—and, therefore, that the letters avowedly inserted on the authority of that coincidence had lost all claim whatever to be considered as

letters by Junius. We have stated, we believe,—if not, we do now state,—that we *know* that in some instances the errors in the conjectural dates were discovered and admitted to be errors by the editors themselves. We know, indeed, a great many more curious facts relating to the selection of the Miscellaneous Letters,—how some got admission and why others were excluded;—but an incidental discussion was not, and is not, the proper place to enter into a full consideration of the subject. We have therefore been content hitherto to submit a few strong facts, just to put the unwary on their guard;—though, when as it were challenged, we may think it necessary hereafter to examine the question with deliberate care.

For the present, we shall rest content with referring to the past. Enough has been already adduced, in our opinion, to have called for some critical examination—some separation of the "may have been" from the "impossible"—before a writer should have founded an argument on these Miscellaneous Letters. But, as we had occasion not long since to observe, there is evidently a new school of historical literature coming forward:—we may call it, for distinction, the *Clairvoyant*. The writers see all things by intuition,—or if they inquire at all, they follow the old authority—pronounce judgment, but assign no reason. The process is wonderfully simple and must save a great deal of trouble,—but for our own part we have never yet been able to catch the trick of it; and though we admire the confidence of the performers, we gape, stare and wonder—but have no faith. We are not, for example, quite satisfied to see the hundred questions that puzzle and perplex us about the Miscellaneous Letters disposed of in a brief paragraph, in a note! wherein, after informing us that some persons object to the Letters of Atticus—others to other letters,—the writer observes—

"In opposition to all such purely fanciful conjectures, we have the express declaration of [George] Woodfall's editor, that in the collected letters are included only those unacknowledged compositions of Junius 'which are *indisputably genuine*.' We have so much confidence in this declaration that we are disposed to maintain the perfect integrity of the text of the

three-volume edition, and are unwilling to allow the alteration or omission of a single sentence there attributed to Junius."

—The writer's "confidence," it is easily and jauntily assumed, is to be admitted conclusive as to the authenticity of the letters!—yet such is our impenetrable dulness, that what was before impossible remains impossible still.

Another of the important *clairvoyant* discoveries of the *Quarterly* relates to some letters published 1780–2, and called 'Letters of Thomas, Lord Lyttelton.' These letters, as they are called, are simply ingenious "essays" on a variety of subjects and characters:—amongst them, is one, of some dozen or more pages, on "dressing the hair, wearing beards, and weaving periwigs." When they were written is left to conjecture, as no dates are given,—to whom addressed is equally unknown, as all names are avowedly suppressed. They resemble simple, natural, friendly letters about as much as letters would coming from the moon or from the dead. Though all marking characteristics of time and place are wanting, there is, nevertheless, here and there an incidental reference which would enable us, we think, to show that they could not have been written, as is professed, by Thomas, Lord Lyttelton. No one ever offered such proof, because no one till now ever supposed them to be genuine. They were issued by a bookseller "J. Bew" who was an adept in this sort of manufacture; and who at the time was engaged in publishing other works of a like character:—'Letters of Yorick and Eliza,'—'Letters between two Lovers,'—'Letters of an Italian Nun and an English Gentleman.' Amongst these publications was 'The Royal Register,' professing to be sketches of the character of ministers, members of opposition, courtiers, and others, "by a person in the highest rank"—that is, by the King. The tone, style and temper of 'The Royal Register' and those of the 'Letters of Lyttelton,' so far as the different characters of the assumed writers would permit, much resemble each other. The course of publication was in each case the same. One volume of the Letters was issued by way of testing its success—so, one volume of the Register. In both instances success justified fresh issues;—but the Royal beat the Noble, and while the

Letters stopped at the second volume, the Register went on to nine volumes. They concluded severally, not, as usual, with "Finis" or "The End," but, significantly, with "The end of the Second Volume"—"The end of the Ninth Volume";—a clear intimation that J. Bew and his scribe or scribes were prepared to go on so long as a remunerating demand should continue.

That these Lyttelton letters were forgeries was never, we repeat, so far as we know, doubted until now. Their authenticity was publicly denied by Lord Lyttelton's executors as soon as they appeared. Years since it was positively and publicly stated that they were written by Combe—best known in his old age as the author of Dr. Syntax's 'Tour'—and said to have been an acquaintance and associate of Lyttelton, which is probable, as both were educated at Eton and both were dissolute and improvident. Combe, however, who soon dissipated his small fortune—but not till he had won for himself the *sobriquet* of "Duke Combe"—lived for the remainder of his life as a booksellers' hack, and for twenty or more years in prison, where he died. Chalmers in his 'Biographical Dictionary,' speaking of these letters, in 1815, says—"Two volumes of Letters published in 1780 and 1782, though attributed to him [Lyttelton], are known to have been the production of an ingenious writer yet living." Watts in the 'Bibliotheca Britannica' re-echoes this. Lowndes in his 'Bibliographer's Manual' dismisses them thus briefly—"These letters are spurious." They are referred to as amongst Combe's writings in the memoirs of him which appeared at his death. Thomas Campbell in his 'Life of Mrs. Siddons' says incidentally, but unhesitatingly, that they were written by Combe. Sir G. Lefevre, in his 'Life of a Travelling Physician,' gives a clever sketch of Combe—whom he knew personally; and states positively, on the authority of Combe himself, that he was the writer:—"He was the author of Lord Lyttelton's Letters and the famous ghost story which once produced a sensation in the moral world. He considered it the best of his productions."

But whether the Letters were written by Combe—of which there would seem to be no doubt—or by Lyttelton himself—

or by some person unknown—there is internal evidence that the vast majority, if not all, were written after Junius had concluded his "great labours"—and when it is scarcely possible to find a young writer without traces of his manner. Nothing therefore could fairly be inferred from occasional similitude of phrase or expression. But no matter; these are minor questions. The authenticity of the Letters is the one important subject of inquiry; and certainly it was high time to correct the public judgment if, to this hour, everybody has been in error—the executors of Lyttelton, Chalmers, Watts, Lowndes, the Biographers, Thomas Campbell, Sir G. Lefevre, and Combe himself.—Here is the proof offered.—

"Shortly after his [Lyttelton's] decease a collection of letters was published with his name. The authenticity of these compositions was impugned by his executors, but without any reason assigned; and as it was impossible that they could be cognizant of all the letters he had ever written, we may suppose that their assertion was rather designed to prevent unpleasant discussion than founded on any certain knowledge. The publication was generally received as genuine at the time, and rapidly ran through a number of editions—a second volume being soon added to the first. These letters have since been attributed to the pen of William Combe, the well-known author of Dr. Syntax. That he gave them to the press—as he was, we believe, at one time known to Thomas Lyttelton—is likely enough; and it is probable also that he tampered with them in a very unwarrantable manner. Indeed we do not think it would be difficult to distinguish his buffoonish interpolations. But that the letters are substantially genuine *we make no manner of doubt. It would lead us too far out of our way to establish at this point our assertion by particular proofs.* Suffice it for the present to say that the general style and matter of the letters are far above any powers Combe ever possessed. Genius of the highest order frequently shines forth in them, and yet more they are marked by the struggles of a nature disturbed by its own evil passions—by a conflict between the elements of good and evil, raging in a mind of singular force and capacity, which an imitative or fictitious pen

could hardly have portrayed. *We pray therefore that we may be allowed to proceed on the supposition that these letters are genuine*—as evidence that they are so will arise naturally as we go on."

So begins and so ends *the proof!* Here is the conclusive evidence which is to overthrow the facts and traditions of seventy years!—for as to what arises "naturally as we go on," it is a simple begging of the whole question. The evidence of style—"a thorough knowledge of the author's style," as Good calls it, — "coincidences of expression," "identity of character," and so forth, coupled with a "thorough" confidence in their own judgment,—have led some two or three dozen persons to prove to their own entire satisfaction that some two or three dozen other persons were the writers of Junius's Letters. The writer in the *Quarterly* has added one more to the ridiculous number.

The proof then of the *Quarterly* that the letters of Lyttelton are genuine is of the same kind as that offered by the same authority to establish that the Miscellaneous Letters were written by Junius. It is after the established fashion of the *clairvoyant* school,—which begins and ends in having "no manner of doubt."

Still, if all these assumptions were allowed, the reader would yet desire to see brought a little nearer and made a little clearer the connexion between Thomas Lyttelton and Junius, —to know something of the "whereabouts" of Lyttelton from April 1767 to 1772; for, be it remembered, as the *Quarterly* assumes the authenticity of the Miscellaneous Letters, the first letter by their Junius appeared in April, 1767, and when the young profligate Thomas Lyttelton was just turned three and twenty. This "whereabouts" is a difficulty that we cannot very well help to solve,—nor do we get much light from the *Quarterly*;—but we have little doubt it could be settled by the Lyttelton family after half an hour's search. Meanwhile, we may observe that, after the fashion of his day, Thomas Lyttelton was sent to finish his education on the Continent; and from his father's letters we find that he had not returned

in March, 1765. From one letter written by the father to Governor Lyttelton we learn something of the preparatory training and disciplining of the young gentleman who was so soon to startle and astonish the world as Junius. In Mr. Phillimore's life of the father, George, Lord Lyttelton, we read as follows :—

"In his next letter [11th of March, 1765] to his brother, [George Lord] Lyttelton wishes him joy of the birth of a son, *laments the dissipation, extravagance, and gaming of his son in Italy.*" (II. 664.)

We are told that he returned in the summer of that year (1765), and took part in a juvenile masque at Stowe. Here, however, we are again cast adrift :—"from this date," says the writer in the *Quarterly*, "we catch only occasional glimpses of Mr. Lyttelton." Very occasional, we may add; and other people, then as now,—creditors and bailiffs amongst them,—were not more successful. It was, indeed, generally supposed that he was driven, not only and frequently, as admitted, to change his residence, but to change his country,—and was to be found, if found at all, in the lowest haunts of dissipation. It is further admitted by the writer in the *Quarterly*, that—

"For a period of three years after Mr. Lyttelton lost his seat—that period during which Junius wrote his acknowledged compositions—*we hardly find a trace of him in any of the contemporary letters or memoirs* that have fallen under our observation. * * We do not know on what terms Thomas Lyttelton stood with his family, while Junius was most actively engaged in correspondence with the *Public Advertiser;* but just as Junius concluded his 'great work,' Thomas Lyttelton returned to his father's house."

It appears, then, that from the summer of 1765 to February 1772, we know scarcely anything about Thomas Lyttelton. It is, therefore, a fair and legitimate inference, according to the logic of this *Quarterly* critic, that while his father and family believed him to be hunted by creditors and duns, and lost in the vilest haunts of dissipation,—sometimes in London,

sometimes in Paris,—associated in either, as the Rev. Mr. Pennington tells us, "with the most profligate and abandoned of both sexes,"—he was labouring with zeal and diligence in the cause of his country, devoting nights and days, and for five years together, to exhausting labours and studies—and writing the Letters of Junius!

What incredible dulness in the father—in Chatham and Temple and Grenville, and all the rest of the kith and kin—not to have discovered it—never for a moment to have suspected it. For ourselves, indeed, we rather incline to believe, from the total silence of Lyttelton himself and of all his relations and correspondents, that the young man's conduct was so bad, that in charity to his father they never mentioned him; and this opinion seems confirmed by their rejoicings on his return home in 1772. Chatham no sooner heard of it than he thus wrote to the father.—

"*Feb.* 16, 1772.

"The sincere satisfaction I feel, on what I hear of Mr. Lyttelton's return, with all the dispositions you could wish, will not allow me to be silent on so interesting an event. Accept, my dear lord, my felicitations on these happy *beginnings*, together with every wish that *this opening of light* may ripen into the perfect day. I know what it is (thank God!) to be happy hitherto in my children; and I grieve for those who meet with essential disappointments in that vital part of domestic happiness. May you never again know anguish from such a wound to your comfort, but the remaining period of your days derive as much felicity *from the return as you suffered pain from the deviation.*"

To this, the father replies:—

"I give you a thousand thanks for your very kind felicitations on the return of my son, who appears to be returned, not only to me, but to a rational way of thinking and a dutiful conduct, in which, *if he perseveres*, it will gild with some joy the evening of my life."

These anticipations, however, were all to be disappointed.

The father, in the hope that marriage might reclaim his son, looked out for a proper match,—and a lady was selected. But the scapegrace who even in 1772 could do nothing like a rational being, though all parties were agreed, must needs, as the father says, "steal a march on the family,"—and get married. As might have been expected, within a few months he stole another "march on the family,"—deserted his wife, and bolted to the Continent;—whence he returned only on his father's death, in August, 1773.* What influence, if any, the profligate folly of this profligate man had on that father may never be known; but we believe there is reference to it in the account of the father's death written by the physician who attended him.—"His Lordship's bilious and hepatic complaints seemed alone not equal to the expected mournful event; his long want of sleep, whether the consequence of the irritation in the bowels, or, *which is more probable, of causes of a different kind*, accounts for his loss of strength and for his death very sufficiently." On this melancholy occasion, Temple, the old friend and relation of the family, who would have hugged Junius to his heart and gloried in him,—thus wrote to the Junius of the *Quarterly*:—"You have an hereditary right not only to my affection, but to every real service it could be in my power to show you; the great figure you may *yet* make depends on yourself. *Henry the Fifth had been Prince of Wales*; he knew how, *with change of situation*, to shake off the Falstaffs of the age, and all those forlorn accomplishments which had *so long stifled and depressed his abilities*. Forgive an old man, *the hint* he takes the liberty of giving, and be assured he ardently *wishes to see* what your Lordship calls *his partiality justified by a conduct* which will make him happy in calling himself, my dear Lord, your most affectionate and obedient servant."

The reader has now seen something—all that is known—of the training of this Junius of the *Quarterly* up to the summer of 1765,—and heard his father's report of it. He has read, also, the character given of him in, or to be inferred from, the letters

* Qy. July, 1773. See Vauxhall Affray.

of his father, of Chatham, and of Temple, at the close of the "great labours" of Junius in 1772. Let us again remind him that to complete the argument of the *Quarterly*, he is required to believe that all the Miscellaneous Letters in the edition of 1814 were written by Junius, contrary to known and notorious facts; and that the "Letters of Thomas, Lord Lyttelton" are genuine, contrary to the declarations of all who have referred to them, from the executors of Lord Lyttelton down to Mr. Combe, who acknowledged himself to be the writer. This premised, he will proceed "with what appetite he may" to the old, endless, profitless talk about style, coincidences, analogies, and so forth; and to arguments deduced from the somewhat notorious fact, that passages may be found in Speeches made between 1773 and 1779, reported by Mr. [Memory] Woodfall and others, after the free fashion of the day,—and in Letters written after 1773, no matter by whom:—which will remind him that Junius's Letters were published before either the letters were written or the speeches were spoken.

From *Notes and Queries*, April 3, 1852.

LETTER TO A BRIGADIER-GENERAL.*

YOUR correspondent W. C. begins his letter modestly. "If," he says, Thomas Lord Lyttelton wrote *The Letters of*

* *If Junius* were the writer of 'The Letter to a Brigadier-General'—and *if* the writer must have served under Wolfe and Townshend at Quebec—very potential *ifs*—he must have been some one of the very few who had *returned home* by or before June—and any thoughtful and intelligent gentleman at the War-Office could possibly give us the names of all of them, after a few hours' search.

After this *major* fact in respect to dates, *minor* facts may be thought trifling, but I think it well to observe that the writer of 'The Letter to a Brigadier' also quotes from and by note refers to the Report of 'Proceedings of a General Court Martial,' and to p. 65, which shows that he had before him the edition 'Published by Authority.' Now Sackville's trial commenced 25th March, 1761, and continued to 5th April. The sentence, though known (see Walpole's Letters) on the 19th, was not published in the *Gazette* until the 26th April—and the 'Report' *which contains the sentence* could not have been published until after the sentence was officially made known as approved—say published on 1st of May. Was

Junius, and "if" Junius wrote the "Letter to the Brigadier-General," then he sees a difficulty. Why, of course he does: but as nobody but the writer in the *Quarterly* believes that the said Thomas did write the *Letters of Junius*, and as it has never been proved that Junius did write the "Letter to a Brigadier," I must believe that something remains to be done before we proceed a step farther either in the way of argument or inference. Unless some such resolution be come to by inquirers, we shall never get out of the mazes in which this question has been involved, by like conditional statements, and the conditional arguments founded thereon.

As to the Lyttelton Story, I shall dismiss it at once: it is not entitled to the sort of respectability which attaches to a case put hypothetically, nor to the honour of an "if;" and I must remind your correspondent that in a Junius question "general belief" is no evidence. Every story, however absurd, once asserted, is "generally believed," until some one

there time between 1st May and 20th August—extreme dates to, &c. as above mentioned—three months and twenty days—I doubt.

I will, however, observe that the 'Letter' though addressed to the 'Brigadier' [Townshend] is quite as much an attack on Sackville as on Townshend—and about the same space and prominence is given to the one as to the other—and the writer is by no means complimentary to Prince Ferdinand. He is too quite as well, or better, informed, respecting the German War as the Canadian War. Now I do not find from Britton that Barré served in the German War: from 1749 to 1753 the 32nd Regiment was at Gibraltar—from 1753 to 1756 in Scotland. In (qy. 1757) he accompanied as a Volunteer, Wolfe to Rochefort—and in 1758 went with him to Louisbourg. Qy. Might not the writer have been one of Mordaunt's friends—Mordaunt himself—or Conway or Conway's friend—all of whom must have disliked Sackville for the Report, &c. &c.? Sackville and Townshend were friends or *military friends*. From Walpole and other contemporary writers, and from historical records we know that Townshend and Sackville had one hatred in common, and were therefore hated in common by one party—that of the Duke of Cumberland, who even after death had many friends, Conway amongst them. See Walpole, History of George 2nd, i. 33.

The feeling from the first, in London, was against Townshend. Gray to Wharton, Jan. 23, 1760, says, "The officer who brought over the news, when the Prince of Wales asked, how long General Townshend commanded in the action after Wolfe's death? answered "a minute, sir." The officer who brought the news—the despatches—would if he could have written the Letter, &c. It may therefore be well to note that the papers announce that "Col. John Hale and Capt. James Douglas of H.M.S. the *Alcide*, arrived from Quebec, with, &c." See *Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1759.

(a rare and exceptional case) proves that it is not true—probably that it could not be true. The general belief, for example, that the "Letter to a Brigadier" was written by Junius, is not, so far as I know, supported by a tittle of evidence. It is all assertion and assumption, founded on the opinion of A., B., and C., as to "style," &c. Now, as some two dozen different persons have been proved, by like confident opinions, on like evidence, to be the writer of *Junius's Letters*, I may be excused when I acknowledge that the test is not with me quite conclusive. In respect, however, to this "Letter to a Brigadier," Mr. Britton and Sir David Brewster have proceeded somewhat further. Having, with others, come to the conclusion that Junius was the writer, Mr. Britton proceeds to show that Barré served in Canada under Wolfe, and was the very man, from circumstances, position, and feelings, who could, would, and did write that letter. Sir David endeavours to show that Macleane was in like circumstance, stimulated by like feelings, and was the veritable Simon; founding his argument mainly on the belief that Macleane was also serving there as surgeon of Otway's regiment. It has been shown in the *Athenæum* that Macleane never was surgeon of Otway's regiment, and that in all probability he never was in Canada: in brief, that the memoir is a mistake from beginning to end. As all, however, that is urged by Sir David in favour of Macleane, as one who had served under Wolfe, may be thought to strengthen, to that extent, the claim of Barré, who certainly did so serve, and was severely wounded, let us look at the facts.

Barré was wounded at the capture of Quebec; and, under date of Oct. 1759, Knox, in his *Historical Journal*, says, "Colonel Carlton and Major Barré retired to the southward for the recovery of their wounds." From his letter to Mr. Pitt (*Chath. Corr.*), we find that Barré was at New York, April 28, 1760. He appears subsequently to have joined Amherst before Montreal; and on the capture of Montreal, on Sept. 8, 1760, he was appointed to convey the despatches to England, and arrived in London on the 5th October. These are facts public and unquestioned—admitted by Mr. Britton.

Now for a fact out of the "Letter to a Brigadier." I could give you half a dozen of like character, but space is precious, and one, I think, will be sufficient. The writer quotes *in extenso* a letter written by Townshend, published in *The Daily Advertiser*, and dated "South Audley Square, 20th June, 1760." Mr. Britton admits that the pamphlet must have been published "some time before the 5th October, as on that day a Refutation appeared;" it was, in fact, reviewed, or rather abused, in the *Critical Review* for September. We have proof, therefore, that the "Letter to a Brigadier" was written after 20th June, and founded, in part, on facts known *in London* only on the 21st of June at the earliest: the probabilities are that it was published in August or September, certainly before the 5th October. How then could it have been written by a man in America, serving before Montreal?—L. B. G. [Mr. Dilke.]

From *Notes and Queries*, September 4, 1852.

LETTERS OF JUNIUS.

THANKS for referring me to the editions in the London Library, which are thus described in the Catalogue:

"11944. Junius. The Genuine Letters of, to which are prefixed Anecdotes of the Author, 8vo. Piccadilly, 1771. This first spurious edition contains several letters not included *in the genuine edition of* 1771, or in Woodfall's last edition. The authorship is fathered on Mr. Burke."

"11945. Junius, the Letters of, *First Genuine Edition*, 2 vols. 12mo.: H. S. Woodfall, London, 1771."

I was at first disposed to believe that there was simply a typographical error as to the date of No. 11945, and that it should have been 1772; but in the description of No. 11944, it is again formally referred to as "the genuine edition of 1771."

I must confess that I read this description with great sur-

prise. I knew, or believed, from Junius's private letters to Woodfall, that the first authorised and acknowledged edition, "the author's edition" as Junius calls it, was *not* published in Feb. 1772 (see *Private Letters*, Nos. 53, 55, 56); and I happened to know that the following advertisement appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of March 2, 1772:

"The publication of the original and complete edition of *Junius's Letters* (printed by H. S. Woodfall, printer of this paper), with a Dedication, Preface, and Notes, by the Author, will be to-morrow at noon, price half a guinea, in two volumes, sewed."

A reference to the copy in the London Library, soon cleared up the mystery. It is all a mistake. The edition was not published by Woodfall at all, but by Wheble, whose name appears in the title-page. It is not therefore the "first genuine edition," but one of the many spurious or pirated editions. It is not even what perhaps I may be allowed to call "a genuine spurious" edition, but a manufactured copy made up of many editions. Of this the proof is simple and obvious. In the engraved title-page, the work professes to have been "printed by John Wheble, 1771:" but the volumes contain the letter to Mansfield, not published until Jan. 21, 1772; the Dedication, not published, as I have shown, until March 3, 1772; and they conclude with a letter professedly written by and signed Junius, addressed to Lord Apsley, and dated Feb. 1775! *

In my opinion, the first volume was a separate publication, issued, as professed in the title-page, in 1771, to which, after March, 1772, the Dedication was added.† The second volume was a distinct publication in 1772. It must have been printed

* What edition the L. L. Copy may be I cannot tell without comparison. I have noted that Mr. Woodfall's one volume had a different engraved title-page from Lond. Lib. Copy, and both different from edit. 1775. I presume one or other the same as my edit. of 1771. I have also noted that the *one* had and the other had not a catch-word at the bottom of the page—(*all* my editions have the catch-word)—and that after p. 160, v. 1, the pages do not end with same lines.

† In proof, the first volume does not contain the *Philos*, which were not known to be written by Js. until so announced 20th Oct. 1771 (Js. i. 350); but when the 2nd volume was printed the *Philos* were professedly inserted in a Supplement—but only those which relate to letters in 2nd volume, and then only those pub-

after March, 1772, as it contains notes which first appeared in "the author's edition." The letter of Feb. 1775 is a mystery which I must leave others to explain. I first met with it in an edition by Wheble, published in 1775.*

I could add numberless other proofs that these volumes are a mere manufacture; but enough, I think, has been said to satisfy the most sceptical.

Having thus shown that the description in the Catalogue of No. 11945 is a mistake, I may as well add, though it is of less importance, that the account of No. 11944 is equally erroneous. The edition referred to is certainly not the "first spurious edition," but, as I believe, the very last that preceded the publication of the only genuine edition, that of 1772. As to what is meant by "Woodfall's last edition," the description is too vague to justify comment; for editions have been printed by H. S. Woodfall, George Woodfall, and the present Mr. Henry Woodfall. Neither is it correct to say that it contains many letters not included, &c., in Woodfall's last edition; for it does not contain a single letter by Junius—except the dozen lines on the Monody, which, being merely temporary in their character, Junius himself struck out—that is not to be found in every edition published by a Woodfall, and in every edition of *Junius Letters*. It contains, indeed, two letters by Draper, which had no business there, and no way concerned Junius; and an impudent forgery, professing to be a letter from the King in reply to Junius.

My attention having been thus drawn to the subject, I will hereafter, with your permission, say a few words and ask a few questions respecting these early piratical editions,—the editions which preceded "the author's" of 1772. This will be

lished on and after the 6th Feb. 1771. Qy. Does not this suggest a *separate* publication of 2nd volume?

* My first impression was that this letter of 4th Feb. 1775, had been taken *bodily* from edit. 1775, and *bound* up with this Lond. Lib. copy—but they are different printing—different copies. I have since (1853) met with this letter of 1775 in a second volume (I have only the second volume) of an edition with a *typo*graphical title-page, Lond. Print. for J. Wheble, &c., 1771. This 2nd vol. with type title-page has Vol. I. manufactured into Vol. II. by inserting the first I. This looks like separate publication.

the more readily excused, considering how little information we have on the subject; and that, as I believe, there is not one of these editions of this British classic, as Junius is called, to be found in our great national library, the British Museum.—L. J. [Mr. Dilke.]

From the *Athenæum*, February 19, 1853.

Touching the Identity of Junius. Dublin University Magazine. *The Ghost of Junius.* By Francis Ayerst. Bosworth.

HERE at length, and on the report of independent inquirers, we might announce that the long-vexed Junius question is finally decided. The writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* and Mr. Francis Ayerst are both agreed on that point; but a doubt is suggested to others by the odd circumstance, that though the parties are equally confident, they are not agreed as to the man.

The *University* claimant for the honour of the discovery has, by priority of publication, a right to precedence. When we first read his Essay, we came to the conclusion that though published in Dublin it was written by an American. The subject is a favourite one on the other side of the Atlantic,—and their manner of treating it is familiar to us. It is difficult —perhaps impossible—in America to test historical facts. The Americans are actively and creditably engaged in establishing and perfecting their libraries,—and there is not an old book-shop, or even a book-stall, in London where we have not found their agents, and always in high repute as amongst best customers. But there exertion ends,—and must end. The accumulated records of ages, legal, civil, municipal, public, private, State papers, family papers, are *here*;—and here, we trust, to remain for ever. In questions, therefore, like this of Junius, all that Americans can do is, to read and compare the published accounts, and devise a theory founded on such comparison. This is what has been done by the writer under con-

sideration. His Essay is written with ease and ability,—with a dashing, off-hand facility and a confidence quite startling:—we might add, without much knowledge, but that we have doubts whether the writer is quite so uninformed as ought to be inferred from his occasional silence. He has not, of course, added one single fact to those patent to all; and he has not solved, and scarcely adverted to, one of those questions which are here thought to require preliminary discussion. In truth, he leaves all such small deer to make sport for small people,—hunts, himself, after nobler game,—is a bold, gallant fellow; and while the old-fashioned rider, or reader, is listening for the view-halloo, the run is over, and in comes the triumphant American flourishing the brush in Dullman's face. In plainer language, the writer confines himself to the high *à priori* line of argument,—sweeps away with a dash of his pen a thousand difficulties that would be stumbling blocks to common people,—and before the reader has had time to raise a doubt, much less to solve one, he has proved to his own entire satisfaction that Junius and Chatham are identical—one and the same, beyond all question and discussion.

The credulous reader of the Essay will be apt to arrive at the conclusion that this identification is now first made known:—that, though Chatham may have been incidentally mentioned, this is the first deliberate and elaborate attempt to fix him as the writer of the Junius Letters. "The critics," we are told, "have repeatedly come close to him,—have seen his large vestiges in the sand,—have been within reach of him, *with only a cob-web, as it were, between them and him.*" This is not a fair statement; nor can we believe the writer so ignorant on the subject as he affects to be. Chatham was early hinted at. There have been half-a-dozen or more Magazine articles, like his own, in which attempts have been made to prove that Chatham was the author. There have been many substantive publications to the same effect. We remember 'Another Guess at Junius,' in 1809—one in 1830, enlarged, we think, into 'Junius Lord Chatham,' by Swindon, in 1833,—'Who was Junius?' in 1837, re-issued as 'Junius Lord Chatham' in 1838:—and surely the writer must have heard of his own

countryman, Dr. Waterhouse, to whom, for twenty years or more, we have been indebted for a somewhat ponderous volume of what he considered proofs.

Mere facts are known to be troublesome to writers of this class and school. All, therefore, is assumed to be true that is required for his argument; and no mention is made of difficulties that might be thought to stand in the way of his conclusions. The fact that a doubt exists as to the authenticity of any of the many Miscellaneous Letters, is not even adverted to; but it is confidently said that "public curiosity was dexterously led astray" by making the first of them an attack on Chatham:—the writer not stopping to explain how a letter published in April, 1767, could have any misleading influence—could be known to be, or suspected to have been, written by the same person who appeared for the first time two years later under another signature. Then we are told that the object of the writer of these celebrated letters was, the return of Chatham to power; but no attempt is made to reconcile this with the previous assertion that he opened his literary batteries in April, 1767, while Chatham was not only in power, but Prime Minister,—and so he continued until the 12th of October, 1768. With a like dashing disregard of facts, opinions, or prejudices, this writer tells us that "the gout obliged" Chatham early in life "to forego the plumed troop;" it having been heretofore understood that the troop was taken from the young cornet, by Sir Robert, for opposition talk in the House of Commons:—that "the old German [George the Second] and his daughter-in-law [the Princess-Dowager of Wales] were equally opposed to Chatham" in 1756:—that Chatham at first "agreed with George Grenville in the attempt to tax the Americans" (!)—contrary to all history, all authority—contrary to Junius himself—and contrary to Chatham's own emphatic declaration, that—

"When the resolution was taken to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences! I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down

on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it."—*Parl. Hist.* Vol. xvi. p. 98.

—How can we enter into a discussion with a writer so confident in assertion, yet so little to be trusted?

It is not unusual when an attempt is made to establish the literary claims of any man to an anonymous publication, to ask for some proof that the claimant *could* have written it,—that he did write something in which like power is manifest; and the present essayist profits by this established form with reference to the claims of others. Why then are we not to avail ourselves of it in the case of Chatham? Why is not such proof here offered? Chatham, we are told, was a great orator. What then?—does it follow that he was a great writer? Chatham never wrote a single volume, or pamphlet, or tract,—or anything beyond a few bad verses. He has been placed amongst the foremost men of his age and nation—whether justly or not we shall not pause to inquire,—but we doubt if the most enthusiastic of his worshippers could establish a claim for the mere mention of his name in our literary history. We know, indeed, that when Prime Minister he called in others to write his king's speeches:—we suspect that others gave shape and form to his official despatches:—we know that he wrote a great, irregular, rambling, scrambling school-boy hand,—proof, beyond question, that he was not an habitual writer.

But it is all alike, direct or incidental,—mere assertion and assumption. Thus, we are told that Woodfall "certainly knew who Junius was,"—that George Grenville and Philip Francis knew,—that Francis reported Chatham's speeches,—and Calcraft is said to have been "Chatham's friend and *retainer*." Wilkes, too, told Mr. Butler that the handwriting of Junius "strongly resembled" the writing of "the Countess of Temple, *mother* of Lady Chatham:"—this word in italic to mark its significance,—although Butler's words are—

"Mr. Wilkes had a card of invitation to dinner from old Lady Temple, written in her own hand; on comparing it with

Junius's letters we thought there was *some* resemblance between them."

—And as Butler wrote in 1823, it is more than probable that he described the lady as "old" Lady Temple to distinguish her from a subsequent Lady Temple, who also had been dead some years,—and that he referred to the wife of Wilkes's friend, Richard Earl Temple, who had been dead above forty years. We doubt, indeed, whether Wilkes ever dined with or ever knew the mother of Lady Chatham.—Here is another startling paragraph.—

"General Lee was once confidently put forward as Junius: and he certainly was Junius; but with a difference. During the years 1769, 1770, and 1771, he wrote in the *Public Advertiser*, under the signature of *Junius Americanus*. He also wrote the Preamble of the Bill of Rights for the citizens of London: and, in a letter to Wilkes, the real Simon Pure says that his American namesake is plainly a man of abilities. In 1803 a Mr. Rodney, in a letter which appeared at Wilmington, in America, said Lee confessed to him, in 1773, that he was Junius. Lee, doubtless, played off his *équivoque* upon his auditor; but it made a great sensation, and people said *Nominis umbra* was a Yankee, after all."

—With this the reader will perhaps permit us to take our leave. It would be an utter waste of time to examine further. Here are perhaps half as many blunders as lines. Though the writer pronounces against the claims of General Lee, it is obvious that he has never seen Dr. Girdlestone's pamphlets, in which those claims are enforced—no, nor the 'Memoirs' of Lee written and published in America,—nor read with decent attention the history of his own country, or he must have known that Major-General Lee was not "a Yankee after all," but an Englishman—an English officer who threw up his commission, and joined the Americans—one who sacrificed more than he could gain by such conduct—who defended New York, and afterwards commanded the Southern division of the army —was for a time second in command to Washington, and could

not have played off the miserable "*équivoque*" upon Rodney. What General Lee said, or is reported to have said, was absolutely true or false, for he "certainly was [not] Junius" even "with a difference." The letters of "Junius Americanus" were written by one no less celebrated, Arthur Lee, subsequently Minister of the United States to the French Court, and brother to Richard, "President of Congress." It cannot be necessary to examine minutely into an argument founded on facts like these,—or to discuss an historical question with one so uninformed as the writer.

We turn, therefore, to Mr. Ayerst:—who tells us that *his* evidence is "indisputable,"—so "strengthened by facts," that "short of the unreserved and unconditional surrender of his name by Junius himself," it is "difficult to conceive" a more perfect solution, a nearer approach to certainty.

Mr. Ayerst, it appears, had the good or ill fortune to stumble on a pamphlet written by Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Rich, published in 1776, addressed to Lord Barrington, then Secretary at War, respecting some claims against the executors of Rich's father for alleged deficiencies in the clothing and accoutrements of the regiment,—wherein Mr. Ayerst found not only the irony—the interrogatories—the depth and acuteness of reasoning—the severity and blighting satire—of Junius,—but "a unity and individuality of character which force conviction of the identity of Sir Robert Rich and Junius:" —and he adduces parallel passages in proof.

Our first impression was, that it was not very extraordinary to find, in 1776, an angry man, who desired to strike hard at Barrington, seeking vigour and vituperation, pungency and satire by dipping into Junius; but Mr. Ayerst says, it is preposterous and absurd to suppose that "a man of the character, rank, and stamp" of Rich would "deign" to or descend to "the meanness of literary piracy,"—and he illustrates and enforces this argument by what he calls "a physiological view of the case." With a strong *Athenæum* recollection, we might perhaps deny the "physiological" conclusion; but the question does not affect us; for we can declare conscientiously that after an attentive perusal of the parallel passages given from

the pamphlet, we cannot find in them even a shadowy trace of Junius.

Fortunately, there are proofs of a more positive and tangible character. Thus, the pamphlet, it appears, was published by Almon,—"a fact," we are told, "of no slight significance;" but the force of which we do not see, for Almon probably published more pamphlets than all contemporary booksellers put together. But "this very man," says Mr. Ayerst, "was prosecuted for giving publicity to the libels imputed to Junius":—so were other booksellers, and thus the significant becomes insignificant. We are then reminded of the old assumption—which here appears as an admitted fact—that Junius was "attached to the Grenville connexion;" and a Chart is prefixed to the pamphlet to prove that the first Lord Lyttelton married the sister of Rich, and that Lyttelton's father married the sister of Richard Grenville,—and that Richard Grenville was the father of Richard, George, Esther, and others; and though the Grenvilles and Pitt and Lyttelton quarrelled and fought on occasions after a very unnatural fashion, this odd sort of no-relationship between Rich and the "illustrious [!] houses of Grenville and Pitt" is thought to be sufficient to explain the partiality "even of a Junius for my Lords Grenville and Chatham." This partiality for Lord Grenville is obviously one of those cases to which Fielding refers wherein nothing but the inspiration with which writers are gifted could possibly enable them to make the discovery; for Lord Grenville, be it remembered, was at that time a boy at Eton,—the second son of plain George, the former minister,—and not created a Lord for twenty years after Junius had retired from before the public.

But Mr. Ayerst has other curious corroborative facts. Thus, Byron, it appears, said that Junius was "a good hater;"—and Rich by a codicil to his will directed that his remains "should be taken from the place" where he might "happen to die, in a hearse drawn by four horses only, without escutcheons, trappings," &c.:—"a bitter sarcasm," says Mr. Ayerst,—and another proof, it must be inferred, that Rich was Junius! Byron, indeed, helps us to other evidence—he was prophet as

well as poet:—It is a curious fact," says Mr. Ayerst, "that Lord Byron should have surmised an epitaph as the means by which Junius would discover himself, and that Sir Robert should himself have penned his own, thus in a manner identifying himself with the fancy of the poet." Mr. Ayerst, however, has some misgivings here. Even if Sir Robert prove to have been Junius, he says "the gifted poet must have been *partially* mistaken in his reverie." This, however, is a matter of opinion,—the reader may differ from Mr. Ayerst. What is but "partially" revealed to one man may be clear as noon-day to another. In justice, therefore, to all, we shall print the epitaph which the poet foresaw and foretold that Junius would write, and which would lead to the discovery.—

"Near this place are deposited the remains of Sir Robert Rich, Baronet, Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Forces, who departed this life on the day of 17 , aged ."

—Of the force and significance of the prophecy, and whether the fulfilment be partial or clear, the reader can now judge for himself.

Mr. Ayerst, not yet content with his proof, proceeds by a process of "inductive reasoning"—we think the fact might have been taken for granted—to show that a man's particular tastes, habits of thought—individuality, in fact—may be learned from his library;—and he selects nineteen works from the Catalogue of Rich's literary treasures—works, we presume, of such rarity and peculiarity as not to have been met with in any other library but that of Junius. Here they are.—

"'Epitome Doctrinæ Moralis'—'La Théologie Naturelle de Raymond Sebon'—'Johannis Magiri Physiologicæ Peripateticæ'—'The Magazine of Honor'—'The Honour of Chivalry'—'The Appeal of Injured Innocence'—'Seneca'—'Horace'—'Juvenal'—'Pub. Ovidii Nasonis'—'The Perplexed Prince'—'The Hidden Treasures of the Art of Physic'—'A Discovery of Sincerity and Hypocrisie'—"The Nonsuch Charles, his Character, 1651'—'A Detection of the Court and State of England, 1694'—'Sir Charles Grandison'—'The

Foundling'—'Peregrine Pickle'—'Trials of Peers and other Persons.'"

A clear case this,—proved, we suppose, as Francis was proved to have been the reporter of Chatham's speeches, by silence—by the fact that Junius, cunning rogue, never once quotes or refers to any one of the works. We should perhaps except 'The Foundling,' a curious and rare work,—but the reference is equivocal.

But the genealogical Chart proves more than we have noticed,—and of equal "significance." Junius, in illustrating his argument, twice refers to the levying of ship-money under Charles the First,—and once, by name, to the resistance offered by Hampden. This, as no doubt the reader will admit, was one of those obscure historical facts not likely to have been known to the common herd of writers; and fortunately Mr. Ayerst is enabled to explain this mysterious allusion by the discovery that Rich was allied to the family of Hampden—his "paternal great grandmother" was sister to the patriot. What more likely, as Mr. Ayerst asks triumphantly, to present itself to the mind of Junius, than "a matter of family history!"—

> So fades, so languishes, grows pale and dies,
> All that this world is proud of!

A matter of family history!—"the noble dust of Alexander stopping a bung-hole!"

But if Rich's great grandmother was sister to Hampden, she was first cousin to Cromwell; and "family history" will explain other strange references and opinions,—as, that "Cromwell had the merit of conducting Charles the First to the block"—"a glorious act of substantial justice." Nay, Mr. Ayerst is over-modest, for there is no limit to the importance of this discovery. If—*if*, again—this great grandmother was really *sister* to patriot John, and daughter, as Mr. Ayerst says—and as his chart shows—to "Sir *Edmund* Hampden," it follows that our historians, and biographers, and heralds—Mr. Noble, Lord Nugent, and others—are all wrong, nay, that patriot John himself was wrong; and he may hereafter serve

to illustrate the slanderous old proverb about children not knowing their own fathers: for, the biographers and others declare, and John with his own hand certified in the Visitation Books, still preserved in the College of Arms—that he was the son of *Mr. William* Hampden, and that he had but one brother, Richard, and *no sister*.

We had some doubts at starting whether the prize for discovery was to be carried off by an Englishman, or by "a Yankee after all:"—we shall now, in modesty, leave the decision to our readers.

From the *Athenæum*, June 11, 1853.

Junius, Lord Temple. The Stowe Letters.—The Grenville Papers. Edited, with Notes, by W. J. Smith, Esq. Vols. III. & IV.

We come now to the mysterious and much-talked-of letters found years ago among the muniments at Stowe, and assumed to have been written by Junius,—and to the 'Introductory Notes' by the Editor, intended to prove that Lord Temple was Junius, and Lady Temple his amanuensis. We would willingly, in justice to Mr. Smith, have given an abstract of his facts and arguments, with a few words of warning and a running commentary; but it is beyond our power. His proof does not rest on one, or on two, or on twenty or fifty facts,—but on comparisons, analogies, words, phrases, opinions, feelings, sympathies, agreements, disagreements, multiplied to an extent which leaves the mind perplexed and exhausted. There is nothing that we can lay hold of and say—right or wrong—that is Mr. Smith's proof;—nothing that would not be insufficient even in his own opinion to support a conjectural probability. Each and all of these somethings or nothings are considered by him as important steps in a progressive development;—they acquire force and power by aggregation; and this aggregate amounts to two hundred and twenty compact and condensed octavo pages (!), to say nothing of curious, elaborate,

and microscopic notes scattered throughout the volumes. The Essay, therefore, must be read as a whole by all who are curious and interested; and we must be content rather to indicate than to analyze or develope.

Amongst numberless anonymous letters with which the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer—the *ex*-pectant Chancellor—was favoured, were three received in the year 1768. These (contrary to the Junius practice) are all dated—6th February, 3rd September, and 20th October;—and they were all (after Mr. Grenville's custom) "ticketed and docketed" "Anonymous." These letters, as our readers are aware, have of late years been very differently indorsed by the Grenville family,—and are so now by Mr. Smith. The latter tells us in the opening sentence of his Essay, that they were written by "the author of the Letters of Junius," and are "unquestionably in the handwriting of Junius." This is a somewhat bold assumption, considering that it rests, as we have said, not on any one proof, direct or incidental—considering that Junius had not at the time when these letters were written, published even a single line under the signature of Junius—considering that the assertion is founded simply on a presumed similarity of handwriting, and on the fact that two out of the three letters are signed "C.," and that "C." was the initial affixed by Junius, *when* Junius came into existence, to his private notes to Woodfall:—an assumption all the more daring considering the lofty superstructure raised on it. We are not disposed, be it understood, to dispute the facts or the legitimate inferences; on the contrary, we are inclined to agree with Mr. Smith, that these letters are in the handwriting of Junius. But there are difficulties; and we would rather see them all fully and fairly stated, than allow the reader to jump to the conclusion that the fact is proved or indisputable. We think, indeed, that there is sufficient difference, even, between the writing of the signed and of the unsigned letters to excuse a doubt as to their having been written by the same person:—though here again we incline, for ourselves, to agree with Mr. Smith.

First, as to the signature--the initial "C." We had occasion long since to observe, that an initial to a letter published

in a public journal is wholly insufficient to establish identity of writer. Mr. Smith himself is obliged to admit that identity of signature—say Atticus, Lucius, or Brutus—is of itself insufficient; for even he, following the example of Dr. Good, ventures only on selections. But in respect to writers under the particular initial "C.,"—there were other contemporary and distinguished writers, second only, if at all, to Junius, who were correspondents also of the *Public Advertiser*:—and we heretofore put the question to those who professed an entire faith in the edition of 1812, on what principle selection had been made. With a drag-net of tremendous power, Mr. Smith sweeps the best of them into his collection. The "C." of "Gray's Inn," in 1764—'Candor'—the famous pamphlet on 'Libels,' by the father of Candor—'Another Letter in Matter of Libel,' so highly commended by Burke—'Phileleutherus Anglicanus,' in 1771:—all these he claims as letters and pamphlets by Junius! This is certainly a comprehensive way of getting over a difficulty. But if we consent to recognize these extraordinary claims, we become only the more importunate in our questionings. On what principles does he select, admit, or reject? Are we to take all on trust?—Is it instinct, or a fine appreciating taste, that decides?—For, though Mr. Smith has swept up so many, there were other "C.'s," *dii minores* if he pleases, of whom he takes no notice:—some who would have so signed themselves, but that the Printer changed the initial, and apologized for so doing,—C.'s to whose communications the printer would not give insertion,—poet C., "whose lines, written from the heart," were "too incorrect for publication,"—C. "the honoured friend and correspondent,"—a benevolent C., who indulged in speculations about social, moral, and financial reforms, much after the fashion of Mr. Grenville's C. of February. How the benevolent C. escaped Mr. Smith's drag-net we are at a loss to conjecture,—for he dates from "Pall Mall," where Lord Temple resided.

Mr. Grenville's C., whoever he may have been, thus introduced himself.—

"Sir,—The observations contained in the inclosed paper

are thrown together and sent to you upon a supposition that the Tax therein referred to will make part of the budget. If Lord North should have fallen upon any other scheme, they will be useless. But if the case happens, and they shall appear to have any weight, the author is satisfied, that no man in this Country can make so able a use of them, or place them in so advantageous a light as Mr. Grenville."

—The "inclosed" was a paper on the impolicy and injustice of laying a tax on things sold by auction,—and an indignant protest against Lord North and the "bunglers" who "recommended taxes without the smallest conception of the manner in which they are to operate, or even of the first principles of taxation." The C. of the *Public Advertiser* is a gentleman of very similar tastes and acquirements; he, too, is a rival Exchequer Chancellor,—he professes to understand the manner in which taxes operate—and proposes, though not quite in our abstract fashion, to raise a revenue by taking a per-centage on money lent on bond, mortgage, notes, and so on. On another occasion, he indulges in speculations on the high price of provisions,—suggests remedial measures; and the Printer notes, that his correspondent generously offered to pay for the insertion of his letter,—but, "we think it sufficient," he continues, "that he has honoured us with his favour." This is another hint which Mr. Smith as one of the "rank and fortune" assertors might have turned to profitable uses. C., too, is grieved at the immoral temptations to which the servants of the nobility and gentry are exposed by waiting outside the theatres: —a fact that came within his personal observation because he was "often in those parts of the town"—"in Catherine Street and the courts leading thereto—from 8 to 10 in the evening." This is a locality which Junius certainly frequented,—the locality in which was situated the New Exchange, the Somerset House and Munday's Coffee-Houses, and Lancaster Court. These facts, incident and co-incident, have no great weight with us; we adduce them only in proof that Mr. Smith does not consider the same initial signature as proving identity of writer, —and that, though more comprehensive in his grasp than Dr.

Good, his selections are as arbitrary, and the principle, if any, which influenced him, is quite as unintelligible, as in the case of his predecessor.

As to proof from comparison of handwriting,—we have read so many confident opinions, that we are not disposed to lay much stress either on our own or on other people's judgment in that matter. There have been a dozen different fac-similes engraved and published, each of which was offered as conclusive on this subject. The result is, that such positive contradictions not only counterbalance and neutralize each other, but shake faith in all like evidence. Mr. Smith, too,—for he is thoroughly honest,—makes certain admissions which to any man but a man with a theory would have suggested a possible doubt. Thus, when in 1827 these letters were first discovered amongst the Grenville Papers by Dr. O'Conor, the former librarian at Stowe,—the discoverer came to the conclusion that they were in the handwriting at once of Junius and of the Hon. Augustus Hervey; and the Duke of Buckingham submitted both for the examination and opinion of Mr. Smith. What opinion Mr. Smith arrived at does not appear; but Dr. O'Conor's speculation, he tells us, was "untenable" *because* Mr. Hervey was at Lisbon in 1769. But for this accidental fact and its discovery, it is not impossible that the Hon. Augustus might have figured for his day and hour as Junius, on the strength of the handwriting; and certainly a very plausible case might have been raised as superstructure on this supposition,—for he was a political writer of some ability, and very fond of figuring in the newspapers.

Mr. Smith himself has raised some special difficulties about these letters which are not very easily disposed of. As the writing of Lord Temple bore no resemblance whatever to the writing of Junius—and as the writing of one who had so long held high office was necessarily known to many persons, and, in Lord Temple's case, is assumed to have been known in the bye-ways as well as in the high-ways of political periodicals,—Mr. Smith, almost of necessity, has recourse to the amanuensis theory and the dictation theory; and from some real or fancied resemblance, comes to the startling conclusion that these

drudging labours were performed by Lady Temple. Now, we have objections to both theories; but to disprove the one, we might require the aid of the other. Even thus crippled, however, something might be said against them, if we felt ourselves at liberty to enter into minute criticism. After all, Mr. Smith's speculative possibilities can help us only so far as the printer is concerned,—and Junius had other correspondents. He is assumed to have flirted after his anonymous fashion with the strongest men of his party—Lord Chatham, Mr. George Grenville, and John Wilkes; and, curiously enough, these correspondents were the brother, the brother-in-law, and the intimate personal friend of Lord Temple. To meet this difficulty, Mr. Smith's theory is forced to carry double; and it rests not only on an amanuensis, but on a handwriting "very carefully disguised." It follows, as Mr. Smith can arrive at his conclusion only from a comparison of the handwriting of these Stowe letters with the known autographs of Junius, that if the one be disguised so were the others:—all the private letters to Woodfall—the two undoubted volumes collected in 1772—the more than two added by Good which Mr. Smith receives as authentic—the tracts, pamphlets, essays, letters, two more at least, now added by Mr. Smith—three years' labours, as acknowledged by Junius—five, according to Good —many more, as assumed by Mr. Smith—down even to the notes and literal corrections of the edition of 1772! Here again Mr. Smith has a plausible explanation; but no explanation could with us serve his purpose,—for the simple fact passes all belief. We have a high opinion of women, and willingly admit their zeal and devotion. We know that in the hard struggle for life and position there is no amount of labour which they have not generously and cheerfully undertaken; but that any wife would, as mere *dilettante* work—for a whim, a crotchet, a political mystification—have gone through so many years of this miserable mechanic labour, passes our idea not so much of woman's devotion as of human endurance. After all, we cannot but ask ourselves, why this intolerable labour? There may have been a motive, though comparatively insufficient, for opening a correspondence with Wilkes,—an

exaggerated conceit of the writer's own power may have suggested the letter in January 1772 to Chatham;—but nothing could result from writing to George Grenville—no purpose is indicated—it was a mere anonymous flourish—the anonymous flourish of a nobody—for Junius, *as Junius*, had not written a line. It must therefore be borne in mind that this disguised hand was, so far as Junius was concerned, in actual anticipation of a necessity. Mr. Smith indeed suggests a motive—two motives; and as the one rests on an assumption directly the reverse of the other, the reader must be more than usually critical or captious who is not content with either. George Grenville, says Mr. Smith, may have suspected Temple to have been the writer;* and this direct letter-writing was "the most effectual means of obtaining absolute concealment,"—as his brother "would *either* be entirely thrown off his guard by this apparently improbable, and almost impossible, step on the part of Lord Temple"—that is to say, it was *a blind*,—or, if he were not blinded, but still retained his suspicions, "he would understand it as *a hint*" to hold his tongue. The letters, in fact, were to lead *or* to mislead—to shake opinions *or* to confirm them—to weaken *or* strengthen. This sort of alternative argument is too common with Mr. Smith:—who should know that alternative arguments mutually destroy each other's value. Thus, the writer of these Grenville letters means what he says *or* the opposite of what he says; and when he tells Mr. Grenville that he "is a man quite unknown and unconnected," it may be assumed that he was "the exact reverse" of what "he professed to be." Really, after this fashion it is impossible to discuss this or any other question. We can understand why Junius, who had resolved to remain unknown, and was driven by circumstances into almost daily communications with the Printer of the *Public Advertiser*, should intentionally mystify and mislead him,—it was a painful consequence of his position: but why should an anonymous enter voluntarily into a correspondence with Mr. Grenville if it brought with it a like degrading necessity?

* The writer of what? *not* of Junius—but of some letters attributed to him by Good—some pamphlets attributed to him by Smith.

If, however, we should admit this theory of the "carefully disguised" handwriting,—the theorist must, as it appears to us, assume either that it was effectually disguised, or that it was a mere supererogatory labour—a labour in vain. There are difficulties either way,—which, fortunately, it is not our duty to clear up. If the disguise were but superficial—transparent,—if Mr. Smith decide in favour of similitude,—then, just in proportion as his evidence becomes emphatic, it becomes impossible to believe that Lady Temple was the amanuensis; for what is manifest now must have been obvious at the time, and what is evident to a stranger must have been at least equally evident to a familiar friend and habitual correspondent, —and Wilkes long out-lived all motives for silence and secresy. If, on the contrary, Mr. Smith assumes the disguise to have been real and effectual—impenetrable by relations or friends, —then, how is it that Mr. Smith has seen through it?—or, assuming extraordinary penetration on his own part, why publish fac-similes in the hope of convincing other people who, as compared to blood-relations and contemporaries, must be considered as mole-eyed or blind? Mr. Smith sees these difficulties, and endeavours to escape from them; but his speculative possibilities have neither weight nor plausibility. Junius himself, indeed, suggests objections to both theories,— for his instructions as to the handwriting being seen varied with the occasion. So far as can be inferred from the few known facts, the handwriting was familiarly known to all the printers in the office of the *Public Advertiser*,—the original Copy was left there to the chances of curiosity or corruption. Many of the private letters to H. S. Woodfall are still in existence.—Junius volunteered a long Correspondence with Wilkes, —he directed that his own manuscript letter should be sent to Horne, and *a copy* retained;—but, to Vaughan, Woodfall was instructed to write in his "own hand,"—or he was to "*say*" to Mr. Vaughan. He was to have the letter to Garrick "copied," because the writer would "avoid having *this hand too commonly seen;*" and Wilkes was instructed to have his second letter "copied" before he even read it at the Bill of Rights Society,—it being emphatically repeated in the post-

script—" by all means let it be copied. *This manuscript is for private use only.*"*

After all, what is gained by the amanuensis, the disguise, and Lady Temple? Grant them all the force and consequences desired,—and they do not bring us one foot nearer to the Printing Office, and can serve a purpose only when we get there. Some of Junius's Letters were dropped into the Printer's letter-box—others delivered by hand,—all addressed to him were left at a Coffee-house. Was my Lord or my Lady the messenger who delivered or received them? Neither, of course;—and as it could be shown, we think, that Lord Temple was at Stowe when Junius, or an active agent, was in London,—an intermediate agency—conscious or unconscious —must have been employed. If unconscious, the frequency and the long continuance of the correspondence must have betrayed the secret, without the trust and confidence which might have secured secresy;—if conscious, then there was no occasion for the labours of Lady Temple,—for the party who transacted "the conveyancing part" might have copied the letters. He must have been an intelligent and trustworthy dependent—obedient to the minutest instructions, even to hours and minutes. We could prove,—at least we think so,—that if Junius were at Stowe, or even half as far from London, "the conveyancing" gentleman must on occasions have anticipated instructions, and acted on his own judgment and responsibility.

We have dwelt thus at length on these preliminary questions, because, in our opinion, the whole theory and its few plausibilities rest absolutely on them. They are essential conditions of Mr. Smith's argument. We shall reserve a few other comments.

* This proof by handwriting, and disguised handwriting, remind of the story told by L'Estrange, as quoted by Miss Edgeworth—a Physician, &c. See Miss Edgeworth's Works, v. i. p. 142. By this convenient mode, says Miss E., a man may be convicted of anything.

From the *Athenæum*, June 18, 1853.

[*Concluding Notice.*]

As we heretofore stated, Mr. Smith endeavours to make out his case by accumulating evidence:—but to our mind that evidence is often so infinitesimally small as to be beyond ordinary perception. It is, indeed, a mystifying fact, that there is so much clever discussion in his Essay:—it contains so many ingenious proofs—that the reader, "in endless mazes lost," comes to the conclusion that something must have been proved, —though what he does not know.

We must further observe, that the case is not necessarily strengthened by extending the field for inquiry and comparison. If we do not thereby get rid of the old difficulties, we only complicate, involve and embarrass. Mr. Smith has not satisfied us that Dr. Good's apocryphal additions are to be received with confidence because he has added apocryphal volumes of his own. Mr. Smith, indeed, has not satisfied himself. Almost at starting he acknowledges that he cannot agree "that all the letters" ascribed by Mason Good to the author "are indisputably genuine." So far well; but he ought not, after such acknowledgment, to quote from any one of them without assigning reasons for his belief in its authenticity: we might then have tested his evidence—cross-examined his witness. Mr. Smith, however, having, as it were, quieted his conscience by this sort of general admission, proceeds forthwith to quote every sentence and word from them which can help forward his own argument or strengthen his case.

Mr. Smith assigns reasons for faith in his own apocrypha,—and we are inclined to agree with him to a certain extent; but we stop where his evidence stops,—that is, short of any conclusion that can serve his purpose. For example, he holds, that the "Candor" pamphlets and certain other celebrated pamphlets—published between 1764 and 1771—were written by one and the same person. We think the evidence adduced conclusive,—and if not, we could ourselves strengthen it. But

what is this to the purpose? There is not a tittle of evidence tending to show that any one of them was written by Junius. Here, however, the theory is brought to bear,—and an attempt is made to show that they were written by Lord Temple. What if they were? The one solitary fact, however, which is thought to touch the question is this. In 1765, some one availing himself of the popularity of the "Candor" pamphlets, and following the trade fashion—then as now,—brought out one by "A Son of Candor,"—and this, Almon says, was "written under Lord Temple's own eye, and the greatest part of it dictated by him," though he "did not write any of it himself." It is by no means improbable that Almon, who speaks on this occasion more critically than usual, was himself the "Scribe,"—as he had been on more than one former occasion; and the fact that a "Scribe" had been employed was known to, or was at least asserted by, contemporaries. As Almon was the publisher of *all* these pamphlets, he must have known something about them; he must have known that the handwriting was not the same. It certainly never crossed his mind that they were by Lord Temple:—indeed, in one of his letters he informs Lord Temple that he has received another pamphlet by "Candor," "very long, very severe, and very good,"—and in his 'Life of Wilkes,' published many years after, he says, the most celebrated—the letter on Libels—and we agree with Mr. Smith that they were all by the same person —was written by "a late Master in Chancery," who had "much assistance from Lord Camden." Almon calls it, the "very celebrated *law* pamphlet;"* and a law pamphlet it was, and written by a well trained lawyer, or law-learning, like Cade's other learning, comes by nature. Mr. Smith thinks differently:—his theory enforces him to do so—nothing else could.

The confident opinion of others has we suspect induced Mr. Smith to adopt the 'Letter to a Brigadier General,' 1760; and he piles other literary labours on the back of his literary hack after a fashion which should bespeak our pity. Amongst

* Wilkes says, "written by the greatest lawyer of this age." See letter to G. G., p. 51.

these he places 'A Letter to the Duke of Grafton,' in 1768. In this last opinion we agree: but where is the link that unites this with the 'Letter to a Brigadier'—either of them with Temple—Temple with the "Candors"—all or any of them with Junius?

Of course, as we have acknowledged, the field of comparison having been extended, the crop of analogies, agreements, words, phrases, and such sort of materials for conjecture is proportionately extended; but whether the harvest becomes better worth reaping and garnering may be questioned. Mr. Smith cannot have forgotten that others have laboured in this way with great diligence and apparent success:—on which success, nevertheless, came "a frost—a killing frost." So, the reader may be at first startled at the agreements which Mr. Smith has pointed out in the "opinions, friendships, animosities, resentments," between Lord Temple and Junius; but then follows the "frost"—the blighting recollection that these agreements held equally good of a hundred or a hundred thousand other people.—

"Besides the King, the Dukes of Grafton and Bedford, Lords Mansfield, Bute, Hilsborough, and Barrington, there were other persons included in the number of those designated as the *King's friends*, and the Bedfords, or *Bloomsbury gang*, to all of whom, as is well known, Lord Temple was equally opposed; and North, Weymouth, Gower, Rigby, Jerry Dyson, and Sandwich, were invariably and constantly the objects of the contemptuous sarcasm and ridicule of Junius."

—So they were of many peers—one-third of the House of Commons—and two-thirds or three-fourths of the whole English nation. Again, we are told, that Lord Temple had special reasons for attacking Barrington,—because Barrington had not merely deserted the Grenvilles, but held "an adverse opinion on the subject of the Middlesex election; and he it was who moved the expulsion of Wilkes." Why, Barrington deserted Grenville only when Grenville deserted office,—and Barrington's one controlling principle, if he had any, was, office—his "slice of the plum-cake," as he called it. As to

his conduct in respect to Wilkes and the Middlesex election, it would be difficult to say whom he did not offend. The King and the Parliament were wearied and exhausted with petitions and remonstrances on the subject—the papers overflowed with angry letters—the booksellers' shops groaned under tracts and pamphlets—the kingdom was in a ferment of indignation.

A generous zeal for Wilkes is urged also as a motive for the attack on the Duke of Grafton; but there was surely nothing exceptional in this generous zeal,—though it is strange to see it urged as a special motive in this case, seeing, as Almon assures us, that Temple and Wilkes quarrelled in, or about, November, 1769, and never spoke together afterwards. Assuming Temple to have been Junius, it would be curious if the private, confidential, and friendly correspondence between Wilkes and Junius began just two years after Wilkes and Temple had quarrelled and all personal intercourse had ceased between them. Again, we are told that Lord Temple was very fond of the Opera; and that Junius refers to the appearance there of the Duke of Grafton and Miss Parsons, with minute details which imply that the writer was present. This may be true; but we cannot forget that this Opera indecency took place in April, 1768, long before Junius, as Junius, had appeared as a public writer,—that if Mr. Smith's argument and inference be of any worth, then half London must have been present,—for newspaper writers, news-letter writers, and gossips of all sorts were full of the subject:—Whately within a week and with more particulars than Junius. Junius, in fact, wrote historically on a subject known and notorious to everybody. If Mr. Smith refers, not to Junius, but to Dr. Good's "Anonymous" of the 23rd of April, he was bound first to prove that this letter was written by Junius.*

* Should Mr. Smith undertake this labour, he will perhaps kindly add proof of the shocking immorality of Lord Bute, whom we find in that letter in very bad company—even Tiberius and Charteris serving but as positive and comparative.—"Tiberius had his forms; Charteris now and then deviated into honesty; and *even Lord Bute* prefers the simplicity of seduction to the poignant pleasures of a rape."—So we read in the immaculate edition of 1812, vol. iii. p. 40—an edition in which critics have avowed so much confidence as "to maintain" "the perfect integrity of the text." What, under these circumstances, is to be done for poor

Mr. Smith says—and says truly—that in adopting this sort of argument and proof—or in giving, as *we* should say, a personal and individual application to what was general and universal as the air breathed by Englishmen—he but follows the beaten track of his predecessors :—indulging, we think, occasionally in a little original licence.

Another form of the same argument—"the same with a difference"—which Mr. Smith adopts, seems to us equally inconclusive. He enters into elaborate proof that from one or other known or possible correspondents George Grenville at Wotton, and *therefore* Lord Temple at Stowe, were kept well informed as to the political movements of the day and the hour. If so, all *we* should say is, that they were better informed than Junius. But, soberly and seriously, where did these correspondents get their information? Why, the best and most diligent picked it up at second-hand. It was often the common talk at the Clubs,—in the booksellers' shops, as they themselves acknowledge,—or in Betty's fruit-shop, in St. James's Street—a great gossiping place in those days. "I send you," says one, "the common report." "I have run up to town," says another, "and forward the latest news:"—which he contradicts the next day. Thus, Whately on the 4th of August refers to Amherst's dismission—not authentically, but as a subject which begins to occasion "much talk." On the 10th, he adds some current rumours, corrects former errors, and reports fresh anecdotes. On the 13th, Augustus Hervey sends further and more minute particulars. On this subject Mr. Smith writes a very elaborate note, in which the topic, with all its possible bearings and consequences, is in-

Lord Bute? He had not a very pleasant time of it while living; but for a moral man to be gibbeted through ages as the superlative of Tiberius and Charteris, does seem hard, if undeserved. We venture, therefore, to submit his case to merciful consideration. Printers in those unscrupulous times dared only to print the initials or the first and last letters of the names of Members of either House of Parliament. This reference, therefore, stood in the original "Lord B——e"; and as everybody knew—the whole town was, indeed, divided into passionate factions on the merits of the verdict—that Lord *B*altimore had been just tried for a rape, and pleaded and proved seduction—in other words, that the young woman was a consenting party,—it may have been the immoral Lord *B*altimore, and not the moral Lord *Bute*, who was entitled to this "superlative" honour.

geniously discussed :—the purport, of course, being, to show not only how Temple *may* have been informed, but how he *may* have been misinformed—or rather, have fallen into the error which appeared in the confident letter of Lucius of the 29th of August.

We willingly admit that the error pointed out has its consequences,—and that the question is ably argued. But the argument is more complicated than there is occasion for,—and all these complications tend to prejudice the judgment. That Amherst was an old and intimate friend of Temple is nothing to the purpose,—for the transaction took place suddenly, and in London, while Temple was at Stowe :—and further, had there been any direct communication on the subject there would have been no blundering to explain and apologize for—no need of second-hand authorities. The case rests, therefore, on Whately's letter,—on the conjectural possibility that it was forwarded to Stowe, though not for "some days" after it was received by George Grenville at Wotton, and was then read carelessly and without "observing its date." Take all these possibilities for granted, and we shall then have got—what?—a starting point for another possibility. Mr. Smith, however, is further of opinion that the letters of Lucius in August and September contain "the same information upon the subject as Whately's letters, and expressed in very similar terms." As to the "similar terms," that is a question of opinion which we shall leave to the judgment of others; and be content to observe that it is matter of course that a political newspaper writer and a political news-letter writer must about the same time tell the same story—discuss the same questions. There is nothing special, nothing exclusive in Whately's letters. His information was necessarily second or third hand —obtained on the second or third day or week. Amherst, it is understood, acted under the advice of Albemarle and other of the Rockinghams,—not under that of Whately or the Grenvilles. His dismission, as it was called, was a good card for a political party, and was made the most of. The subject was brought under discussion and the newspapers were full of it long before Lucius came lumbering and blundering after.

Mr. Smith pushes these conjectural possibilities a great deal too far, and they occasionally lead him into difficulties. Thus, "the commissarial knowledge" of Junius—so often talked about, but never proved—is assumed; and Mr. Smith proceeds to account for it by the suggestion that Lord Temple had many years before had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted—by a somewhat circuitous road, we may observe, —with the official forms and details of the War Office,—and that Calcraft, then in intimate and confidential communication with him, could keep him *au courant*, because Calcraft's "business" as an army agent necessarily obliged him to go often to the War Office. No doubt of it; but as Calcraft retired from business in December, 1764, under circumstances which suggest the probability that he ever after avoided the War Office, we do not see how his "business" could enable him to help Lord Temple to special information in 1769 or 1770. But Mr. Smith's arguments and inferences from this supposed "intimate and confidential" connexion altogether pass our comprehension. Thus, we are told in the text that "*a continual interchange of very intimate correspondence* and communication was kept up during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771 [the exact Junius period] *between Mr. Calcraft*, Lord and Lady Chatham, and *Lord Temple*,"—which positive statement, as we read it, is thus interpreted in a note:—Calcraft's letters are numerous in the Chatham Correspondence, and "*it can scarcely be doubted* that he wrote very frequently to Lord Temple," although "*not a single letter written at this time has been preserved.*"

We respect Mr. Smith as a laborious, able, well-informed advocate; but we hold all his adduced proofs of personal and political agreements, sympathies, and so forth, as just so much waste paper. No doubt there was a general agreement and sympathy between Junius and Temple;—and so there was between Junius and all other fierce opposition men. But Junius won his great triumph because he spoke with the indignant voice, not of an individual, not of a faction, not of a party, but of the people. He was the eloquent embodiment of their thoughts and feelings. He may have differed from them

on a hundred points of policy or of government beyond their comprehension,—but in the main, on all great popular questions, he was one with them, heart and mind. Junius was not of the common herd of common men,—no, nor an exceptional man taken from it. It was not that his genius transcended that of other men; but that he was not open to those influences which direct and control them. He was one and alone:—isolated, self-dependent, self-balanced. He had great failings, but no weaknesses. He had no vulnerable point about him:—not even that which Milton calls "the last infirmity," as the silence of a century proves. "He loved the cause independent of persons,"—wrote himself down as "one of the people,"—and said, in words that would startle like thunder the gentilities and imbecilities of our literary world, "I love and esteem THE MOB." No vague generalities, therefore—no likings or dislikings—no personal friendships or personal animosities—no amount of such proofs would with us be any proof at all, or even tend to fix on an individual the authorship of Junius's Letters.

We think more highly of Lord Temple than Mr. Smith does. He was a man of honour, energy, sense, and we think of sound judgment,—but no genius. There never was a Grenville who had a particle of genius:—not even my Lord, the most plausible of the family, nor Thomas Grenville, the best of them. Lord Temple would not if he could, and could not if he would, have written the Letters of Junius. Junius, with twenty times the ability of Temple, wanted his nobleness and generosity. It is impossible to believe that Temple could have written the letter, with its notes, to the Duke of Bedford. He at that time hated the whole "Bloomsbury gang" cordially,—and we think the better of him for resenting their double-dealing and selfishness; but though the Duke had been his personal as well as political enemy, he would not have tortured him, or risked the possibility of doing so, by violating the sanctity of the grave,—and he would never, under any amount of provocation, have had the meanness to attack the Duchess. These, however, are speculative opinions of our own,—which find no warrant in Mr. Smith's narrative. If we put faith in

his theory we must give up Temple; for Mr. Smith's argument would prove, that while Junius insulted others for want of feeling, Temple under like circumstances was "callous as a stock-fish"—never more active, energetic, or vindictive than when his brother was dying or just dead. This, says Mr. Smith, is "a mere question of the feelings—it involves no impossibility." Certainly not. There is no physical impossibility,—but surely there are some moral impossibilities? Junius thought so. Yet a politician who was not silenced for a single hour by the death of a brother, was not likely to be startled or shocked at another because he gave a silent vote within a fortnight after a son's death. Temple, Mr. Smith tells us, "had the greatest attachment" to his brother "both personally and politically." That brother had long been in delicate health. Cavendish records that so early as April, 1769, after an animated debate, he "spat blood." The loss of his wife deeply affected him; and it has been said, that he never recovered it. They were most affectionately attached, —and her letters overflow with home and earnest affection. They are even now, and to a stranger, singularly touching and tender in their simplicity and devotion. He died within a twelvemonth after his bereavement, on the 13th of November, 1770; and what little information we have, tends to show that Temple felt his death severely—Lord Chatham described him as "deeply affected"—in fact, that death had its natural and humanizing influences, and tended to soften all angry personal or political feelings. Mr. Smith admits, though he assigns other reasons, that Temple now became disgusted with politics and political labours, and turned his attention entirely to the completion and decoration of his mansion and buildings at Stowe. Junius, on the contrary, under one disguise or another, all accredited by Mr. Smith, was never more active than in November and December of that same year. He published a letter the very day after George Grenville's death, the 14th,—others on the 19th and the 24th of November, and on the 8th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 20th, and 24th of December. So says Dr. Good:—to which Mr. Smith *adds* the letters of Phileleutherus Anglicanus on the 15th, 22nd, and 29th of December and the

5th of January. Considering the nature and character of some of these letters, was this physically possible? Is it credible on the supposition that it was all mere amateur work, and that Temple was Junius? We know, of course, that the duties of life cannot always concede that quiet and retirement for which on such occasions the heart yearns,—but here it would have been a voluntary sacrifice. We repeat, that we do not think it physically—still less morally possible; and we rejoice to believe that Mr. Smith, with all his ingenuity and odd, out-of-the-way knowledge, has shown no reason why we should change that opinion.

From the *Athenæum*, Feb. 25, 1860.

The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. By William Thomas Lowndes. New Edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, by Henry G. Bohn. Part V. (Bohn.)

More than usual care, we are assured, has been bestowed on this volume over which Mr. Bohn rejoices beyond a common joy. He rejoices over some dozen articles which are specifically named, though modestly called "a few." Over all the Scottish articles which have, it appears, been rendered complete by the assistance of Mr. David Laing, and over the article on 'Junius,' which, as he tells us, and we are disposed to believe, is the most complete list of editions, and of conjectural and controversial pamphlets on the subject, which has yet appeared. After all, Mr. Bohn, we suspect, rejoices more over one other announcement than over all the contents of the volume; that is a revelation on the subject of 'Junius.' On this vexed question, about which the tricks of imagination have led so many persons into wild speculation, Mr. Bohn confines himself to "simple facts." They do not, he admits, positively "reveal who was the actual writer"; but they point out "the head quarters of information." That we may do him justice, we will quote his words:

"And now, in respect to Junius, I will reveal a matter which I have kept secret for the last ten years, governed more by some notions of my own as to professional employment than by any circumstance connected with the particular transaction, which was of an ordinary character, and neither exacted nor implied any secrecy whatever. In the middle of July, 1850, I was suddenly called upon to value, or as my instructions ran, 'to inspect the political papers, manuscripts, and a library of books, at No. 3, St. James's Square'; and some pressure of circumstances required that this should be done within an hour, which I undertook. On running my eyes round the library, I perceived a strong indication of politics in the time of George the Third, and, remembering that I was in the supposed precincts of Junius, I searched eagerly, but without success, for the vellum-bound copy. It was quite clear, however, from numerous gaps, that the older part of the library, for it consisted of two very distinct classes of books, had been thoroughly gutted. Having declared the value of it to be very small indeed in proportion to its extent, I was shown into the manuscript-room. Here I found a considerable quantity of carefully-preserved papers, all, with the exception of two very large brown-paper parcels (which were distinctly placed apart), contained in drawers, and chronologically arranged. I immediately turned to the Junius period, and there found—although nothing signed Junius—a great many letters from the King to the Earl of Holdernesse, communicating and discussing political subjects without reserve; a considerable number from Sir Wm. Draper, one of them quailing about Junius, and wondering how he could have obtained information of certain matters, and others enumerating unrequited services, and earnestly begging a place; a vast many, often of a very confidential character, from the Earl of Hillsborough; several from Benjamin Franklin, long and very interesting; and some, at various dates, from the Duke of Manchester, Duke of Grafton, Lord North, Chatham, the Grenvilles, Lord George Sackville, Chesterfield, and other political characters. In one of the drawers was a rough draft, in the well-known upright kind of writing attributed to Junius, but corrected by another hand, of an unpublished letter of Lucius to the Duke of

Grafton. It was endorsed letter X, and commenced, according to my memorandum, the only one I made, with—'*A long retirement from the world of Politics may perhaps have rendered,*' &c.—and contained the phrases, *proselyte,* and *busy scum,* ending with the word *children,* and simply signed Lucius. This, it will be remembered, is one of the best authenticated pseudonyms of Junius. Having to get through my valuation with extreme speed, I could make no deliberate notes, nor had I time to examine a tithe of the papers, which extended over nearly half a century. One rather interesting MS. was a Diary beginning at an early date, and ending, I think, with a journey to Paris, in the autumn of 1772, which is about where it might be expected to end to be connected with Junius; but in glancing hastily over it, without any aid but my memory, I could trace nothing in the shape of evidence. Feeling that I was in the path of discovery, I entreated to see the contents of the two large parcels set aside, which—full a quarter of a hundredweight each—were sealed at every aperture, and prominently marked on all sides '*most secret*'; but this was declined until actual right of possession had been obtained. To secure these important papers, I offered 500*l.* for those I had so hastily inspected, and as much more, speculatively, for the two parcels of 'most secret' ones, under a strong impression that the Junius correspondence was there."

This house in St. James's Square had been, it appears, the residence of the last Earl of Holdernesse, whose only child married the fifth Duke of Leeds; and Mr. Lane Fox, who resided in it from 1836 to 1853, married the only daughter of the sixth Duke.

These "simple facts," Mr. Bohn is of opinion will "account for some of the hitherto irreconcilable difficulties in adjudicating on the claim of Sir Philip Francis." What can this mean? What is the possible connexion between the Earl of Holdernesse and Sir Philip Francis, because the one died at No. 8, in 1778, and the other, some dozen years later, came to reside at No. 14?

We must believe that Mr. Bohn saw this connexion after his imagination had been excited by a glimpse of "the well-known upright" hand. We submit, however, that there was

not sufficient time for examination to justify so positive a judgment. Within the rounding of one hour, Mr. Bohn, a man of business, engaged on a simple matter of business, saw enough to induce him to bid a thousand pounds for the library of books and manuscripts. We must believe that some part of that hour was bestowed on the profit and loss part of the question, and only the fractional remainder could have been available for the deliberate consideration of the "upright." Now, dozens of persons have examined the handwriting of Junius,—have compared it with the handwritings of other persons,—have published fac-similes of both in proof of identity, and yet failed to satisfy the public.

As to the two bundles "sealed at every aperture," Mr. Bohn can know no more of their contents than other people; and as to his strong impression that "the Junius correspondence was there," it is a mere speculation, without a shadow of reason or probability. These packets, he tells us, weighed full a quarter of a hundred weight! Why all the private letters received from Woodfall could have been weighed by ounces; and if, as others have done, Mr. Bohn assumes that the MSS. of all the published letters were returned we should still weigh the parcel with pounds. But there is reason to believe that the letters were not returned; were destroyed with other "copy," which the printer deposed on oath on Hone's trial was destroyed at the end of every year, because no barn could have contained them. The probabilities are, as Lord Holdernesse had been Ambassador at Venice, at the Hague, and subsequently Secretary of State, that they contain his official papers.

Waiving these objections, we should ask why Junius papers should be found in the possession of the Earl of Holdernesse? —a man of no political significance,—a man, indeed, who rose to high office on the ground of insignificancy, a mere blank counter or courtier, shuffled here or there as suited political parties,—a man whose natural taste and tendency was, Walpole tells us, towards operas and masquerades, and whose greatest difficulty arose from offending Royalty by

'indman's buff at Tunbridge Wells,—a man who,

ersons will admit, was incapable of writing the

letters, and the very last person, we should say, to whom the writer would have entrusted his secret, or to whom his enemies would have betrayed it.

We have said enough, perhaps, to dispose of this revelation; but as we are on the subject, we will add a few words on the assertion that Lucius "is one of the best authenticated pseudonyms of Junius." Of course we have heard this before,—made for the half-century which has elapsed since Dr. Good introduced the Letters of Lucius among what he called the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, and shall hear it again whenever the letters of Lucius will help a literary speculator on the old controversy. Mr. Bohn's editor of Junius had no more doubt than Mr. Bohn himself; and we took leave to ask him how it was, if Dr. Good's Lucius was Francis, chief clerk in the War Office, that he fell into such mistakes about dates as Lucius did in respect to the supercession of General Amherst, —the only subject in which the Doctor's "Lucius" took any interest, and to which he confined himself.

The history of the introduction of these Letters of Lucius, among what Dr. Good called the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, is, we believe, very simple. When in 1812 it was resolved to bring out a new edition of Junius, with the private correspondence, it was essential to a profitable speculation that the new edition should appear in "3 vols. 8vo." But as the letters themselves, with the private letters in addition, would not fill more than one volume and a half, it was necessary to hunt further. Accordingly, the *Public Advertiser* was searched, and, with more or less probability, selections were made to the required extent. In respect to these letters of Lucius the selecters had a hint. It appeared that Almon, a contemporary bookseller, a great publisher of political letters, had issued 'A new and impartial Collection of interesting Letters from the Public Papers,' beginning with the accession of His Majesty down to 1767; and in 1769 he published the letters of Atticus, with "an account of the dismission of Sir Jeffrey Amherst—Lucius's letters on that subject, with the answers and replies," and the letter of Junius, "which," he says, "may be considered as a very proper appendix to the above collection." We feel

justified in assuming this publication of Almon's to have been Good's authority, because Almon's whole collection was reproduced by Dr. Good in 1812—because though, at a hurried glance, we have discovered some thirty letters by Lucius in the *Public Advertiser*, the only Lucius letters reproduced by Dr. Good are the letters relating to the dismissal of Amherst. Further, we may observe, that Almon in his "Collection" gives two letters by "Cleophas" in answer to Lucius. These two letters by Cleophas are given among Good's Miscellaneous, and no more, though Cleophas wrote more; and so carefully are they introduced, that they are to be found in the text, and are passed without note or comment. The probabilities are that every contemporary newspaper had its Lucius, and certainly the *Public Advertiser* had two or three. Thus, the editor or printer, for at that time they were generally one and the same person, announces in September, 1770, that the letter of Lucius is not by the Lucius who favoured us two years since; and as four or five other Lucius letters had appeared in the interval, there were probably a third or a fourth Lucius in the field, and the press at that time swarmed with these "antique Romans." Be this as it may, if Good's authority in 1812 be worth anything, Almon's contemporary authority, 1769, must be worth more. If the Lucius letters were by Junius, Almon stumbled on the fact with a blind, ignorant instinct, for he never dreamed that they were by the same writer. Almon was a great speculator on the subject of Junius: he published in 1806 what he called 'A New, Correct, and Enlarged Edition of Junius's Letters, with Notes, Biographical and Explanatory'; yet he took no notice of Lucius; and though he has an explanatory note on the dismissal of Amherst, he does not even allude to the services of Lucius. It is, indeed, possible—just possible—that Almon's silence was not a consequence of ignorance. Almon was a remarkable man—a self-educated man, intimately acquainted with Lord Temple, and the leaders of that section of the Opposition—still more closely with the second-class parliamentary and party men. He abounded in what, in its day, is called "information"—the political gossip of political gossips, high and low. He was at times a news-

paper reporter, newspaper editor, and proprietor of more than one paper; and though a vain man and not very wise, he was considered an honest one, and confidentially trusted by his party. Now we are told in his 'Memoirs' that he was very zealous and very active in defence of Mr. Pitt, and wrote largely in the newspapers under different signatures; but generally under that of 'An Independent Whig,' and of '*Lucius*.'

Does Junius himself help to throw a light on this subject? In September, 1769, so many of the Junius letters as had already appeared were by "the catchpenny contrivance of a printer," collected and re-issued; on which Sir William Draper again came forward. "People," he says, "cannot bear any longer your lion's skin, and the despicable imposture of the old Roman name which you have affected. For the future assume the name of some *modern bravo and dark assassin*." Here it is obvious that Draper assumed that it was from *Marcus* Junius Brutus, and not *Lucius* Junius Brutus, that the old Roman name was taken. Junius, in reply, simply observes, "Your remarks upon a signature *adopted merely for distinction* are unworthy of notice." Yet he did notice them, and in the collected edition of 1772, he, in a note, observes, "Was Brutus an ancient bravo and dark assassin? Or does Sir W. D. think it criminal to stab a tyrant to the heart?" Here, then, he admits, that although he had adopted the name merely for distinction, it was the name of *Marcus* Junius, and not of *Lucius* Junius Brutus.

WILKES.

From the *Athenæum*, January 3rd, 1852.

JOHN WILKES.

History of England. By Lord Mahon. Vols. V. and VI.

HAVING reviewed this work a fortnight since, we must apologize to his Lordship for taking a mere incidental reference therein as a text whereon to enlarge after our own free will. We hinted at a similar intention long since in our notice of one of Lord Brougham's volumes;—but time and opportunity do not always serve.

No one, as we lately said, can in this nineteenth century have any desire to make a hero of John Wilkes. The prejudices, feelings, virtues, vices of the age,—all run counter to such Quixotic daring. There is not enough of the blood of the martyrs left in literary hearts to stimulate even its enthusiasts to fight for a dead and almost forgotten reputation. Yet, we must own that, as literary journalists, we have an occasional twinge of conscience on this subject. Thus, it gave us a sharp momentary pang when, to serve a selfish and temporary purpose, Lord Brougham poured out his vituperation on the memory of John Wilkes. Since then, scarcely a writer has adverted to the period who has not followed his Lordship's example, and given evidence of his morality at the easy rate of a like reprobation.

We, of course, have no objection to see the vices of an age fairly stated, and freely censured; but we have a great objection to see one man made the scape-goat for a generation. Even in

condemning the vices themselves, care should be taken that we do not—

> Compound for sins we are inclined to
> By damning those we have no mind to—

and we of the nineteenth century have happily "no mind to" the particular vices which flourished in the reigns of George the First and George the Second. Personally, indeed, we have very little love for the virtues which then passed current, either in Court or in Conventicle. The age united in itself the lifeless forms of old Puritanism with the licentiousness of the Restoration, stripped of its joyousness and vivacity. The one, wanting earnestness, enthusiasm, and noble self-devotion, had dwindled down into dull formalism—into a passive, not an active life;—while the other, wanting the spirit of youth, had nothing left but its disgusting grossness. With some noble exceptions,—and, of course, with the exception of the great body of the sound-hearted middle class, which always keeps the even tenor of its way,—society might then have been divided into two widely separated parties. Antagonism was a condition of the existence of either. Each had its war-cry, its party banner, its miserable shibboleth. Wilkes belonged to the one, and his wife to the other; but the sins of the one party are no more to be visited on Wilkes than those of the other on Mrs. Wilkes.

Wilkes had vices enough in all conscience:—few men in that age who came prominently before the public were without them. But the character of Wilkes which passes current in our literature is the mere daubing of faction on an outline sketch by hireling pens. Wilkes was not the exceptional man he is now represented to have been. He was, indeed, even in private life, superior to numbers numberless of high gentilities and nobilities who, on his accession, received the patronage and protection of George the Third. Seen and considered in the dim twilight morality of the age, Wilkes was not a bad man. He was a bad husband, certainly; and unless contemporary records are false, there was a plentiful crop of them at the period;—nor, unless the proceedings in our law and police courts be pure fictions, are they an extinct golden-pippin race even now. His wife is entitled to our deepest sympathy,—

but not to *all*. Some little may be spared to a young and highly-educated man—a wit, a scholar, and a gentleman—with the lightest and gayest of hearts, buoyant of spirit, fascinating of manner to an extent that won admiration from older, wiser, and better men, as the dedication of the learned and religious Andrew Baxter testifies—not yet two-and-twenty, and just returned from his travels, when, by the controlling advice of his family and the well-meant management of the lady's mother, he was married to a woman half as old again as himself, brought up in the strictest forms of dissent, and into a family which, having fortune at command, lived before or after, or both, dull and contented, in the smoky obscurity of Red Lion Court. We repeat, that we sincerely pity Mrs. Wilkes. We doubt not, that had she been properly matched she might have passed a happier life. So might Wilkes; and surely a woman of more than two-and-thirty is not less responsible for her actions and their consequences than a young man not quite two-and-twenty. After all fair allowance, however, Wilkes on this point must still remain justly censurable,—and to just censure we are content to leave him.

It was Wilkes's misfortune while yet in "the heyday of the blood" to become the associate of men of higher rank and greater fortune than himself.* Weary of the monotonous dullness of Red Lion Court,—he removed to Great George Street, and entered into fashionable life. His fashionable friends soon and easily persuaded him to become a candidate for Berwick. This election, in which he was unsuccessful, cost him between three and four thousand pounds. In 1757, however, he was elected member for Aylesbury:—under what circumstances or on what conditions is not exactly known. "The great Commoner," Mr. Pitt, member for Okehampton, when he entered the Ministry, was invited to offer himself for Bath; on this his friend, Mr. Potter, resigned Aylesbury, and presented himself at Okehampton. New writs were moved for

* As early as Nov. 1754, Mr. Fox describes Wilkes as *a friend of Pitt's*—meaning the *political* friend, for they were not, I think, personal friends. See letter in Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 147. He was also considered the friend of Pitt when he stood for Berwick. See Gren. Corr. i. 126.

both places on the same day, as Potter had vacated his seat, on accepting office. Pitt was chosen for Bath, Potter for Okehampton, and Wilkes for Aylesbury. "The business," Almon tells us, "was very adroitly managed, by modes which we are yet too near the time to explain. * * It may be said, with the strictest truth, that this affair from its commencement to its conclusion cost Mr. Wilkes upwards of seven thousand pounds,—for he was the person who paid for all." Yet, we have read this very week in one of our liberal newspapers, that Wilkes "betook himself to patriotism to repair his fortune." If so, the repairs were somewhat costly. The very day after his election Wilkes wrote to Mr. Pitt, to assure him how happy he was that it was now in his power "to contribute more than my warmest wishes for the support of his wise and excellent measures."

Fashionable life, however, its habits, manners, morals, all ran counter to the education and feelings of Mrs. Wilkes,—and she separated from her husband and returned to her mother. The especial provocation, however, which led to the separation, as we learn from Almon,—who apologizes for Mrs. Wilkes—was that "amongst the persons brought into the house were Thomas Potter, Esq., member for Aylesbury, and son to the Archbishop of that name,—Lord Sandwich,—Sir Francis Dashwood, afterwards Lord Le Despencer—and many others of similar disposition and manners." We have no doubt that Mrs. Wilkes had good reasons for the step which she took,—but those assigned seem to us scarcely sufficient. At any rate, be it remembered that this same shocking Thomas Potter was not only the son of an archbishop, but the especial friend and confidential correspondent of Mr. Pitt, who describes him at this very time (1756) as "one of the best friends I have in the world,"—he had been Secretary to the Prince of Wales, the father of George the Third;—that Sir Francis Dashwood was honoured, among the earliest, by the patronage of George the Third, who appointed him Chancellor of the Exchequer, raised him to the peerage, and when Lord Temple was removed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire nominated Lord Le Despencer as his successor;—

and that Sandwich held the high office of Secretary of State or that of First Lord of the Admiralty for some dozen or more years under George the Third. In truth, so little was morality thought of at that time amongst the higher classes, that Sandwich offered himself with the king's countenance and the support of the minister as High Steward for the University of Cambridge, and divided votes in exact equality with Lord Hardwicke.

What wonder that a young, inexperienced, flattered, and fooled *parvenu* should be misled by such lights and influences. *If* Wilkes wrote an obscene parody, it is pretty generally agreed that his senior, the archbishop's son, wrote the notes, —and Sir Francis Dashwood, Lord Le Despencer, got painted worthy companion pictures. Lord Mahon confirms what Mr. Tooke tells us—what indeed is well known, but we like on such occasions to speak by the card,—that "there was for many years in the great room at the King's Arms Tavern in Old Palace Yard an original picture of Sir Francis Dashwood, *presented by himself to the Dilettanti Club.** He is in the habit of a Franciscan, kneeling before the Venus de Medici, and having a bumper in his hand, with the words '*matri sanctorum*' in capitals." If this description were not disgusting enough, and more than enough, we could heighten the colouring by some particulars here judiciously omitted. On it Mr. Tooke observes,—"a not unuseful record, and, it may be hoped, warning, of the most flagrant outrages upon decency of the men of that generation." Such warnings are quite needless, —our age has happily no toleration for like offences. The wisdom, and charity, which it should teach is, not to pile up our indignation against the vices of a generation on the head of one man.

Of this Parody, which not five, but fifty times we have seen outrageously condemned, let us say, that it was never our fortune to meet with a single man who had read it. We are not satisfied, indeed, that copies are now in existence. Wilkes

* It is now among the Dilettanti Club portraits at Willis's Rooms.

asserted at the time that "the most vile blasphemies were forged and published" as extracts from the work; and we suspect that the copies which are mysteriously sold at high prices by disreputable dealers have been manufactured for the market, and the "vile blasphemies" inserted therein to give the flavour of age. But assume the work to have been as bad as described,—must we not judge it as a question of manners rather than of morals; not by abstract and eternal principles, but by those shifting lights which, dull or obscure as they may be, are to the great bulk of mankind the only lights of their age? Wilkes, in reference to the attack by Chatham, stated in his letter to the Duke of Grafton that Chatham had seen the work, so shamefully dragged into notice and wantonly denounced, years before in manuscript, and had highly commended it. If this were true—and we see no sufficient reason to doubt it,—it proves such offences to have been so common that a man like Pitt, the moral purity of whose private life was as "one entire and perfect chrysolite," did not think it becoming in him to reprove the writer when we, judging from our feelings and his virtues, should have supposed that he would have knocked him down with his crutch. We have no intention to apologize for offences of this nature,—they are to us loathsome and detestable; but we cannot forget that we have been taught and trained in a purer and better age,—an age in which, whatever other vices it may have, such offences could not be committed without outraging the feelings of the humblest reader.

Further, be it remembered, this Parody if written by Wilkes at all was written several years before 1763, — when, as Chesterfield said sarcastically, a mercy and a miracle "raised up the Earl of Sandwich to vindicate and promote true religion and morality." * We have hinted a doubt as to the writer because we entertain one,—and that notwithstanding Wilkes's

* Candor censures Sandwich for his conduct to Wilkes, 67, 108, 212. It may be worth quoting for authority. Yet Wilkes, be it remembered, was indignant with Candor, and justly, if, as W. assumed, he were his personal friend. See Candor, p. 420.

apparent acknowledgment. Wilkes was just the wilful, obstinate man who would take anything on himself if threatened with consequences. We could urge many, and some strong, circumstances on which our doubt rests, if this were a fit occasion. But assuming Wilkes to have been the writer, the Parody must have been written before 1763. Shall we say fifteen years?—or after the fashion of a Dutch auction, reduce the bidding to fourteen, thirteen, a dozen? We cannot be wrong in fixing some period about or before 1754,—and therefore before Wilkes was twenty-seven, and just when flushed and maddened by his associates, "my lords" and the Medmenham Franciscans; and it does seem a little ungenerous and unfair to condemn a man to perpetual infamy for an error committed in his "salad days, when he was green in judgment." Nor must it be forgotten that Wilkes did not obtrude his immoralities on the public. He made no ostentatious display of them,—his conduct tended in no degree to the corruption of public morals. Having a printing-press in his own house, he proposed to print twelve copies of this Parody for presentation to his *confrères* at Medmenham. Even this intention was never fulfilled,—not a fourth part of the proposed volume was ever printed, and the printing had been discontinued for months. The man employed by Wilkes subsequently declared on oath that Mr. Wilkes gave him "the strictest charge to suffer no person whatever to see the said poem, * * to work off only twelve copies;—which were all to be delivered, and were actually given to Mr. Wilkes himself." Not a single copy, therefore, had ever been distributed. Under these circumstances, it is possible—indeed probable—that the printing never would have been completed, and that a returning or a dawning sense might have committed the impression, manuscript and all, to the fire. In truth, the first and only publication was by Lord Sandwich, when he brought the imperfect work before the House of Lords;* where it would never have been heard of but as a means to damage or to ruin the

* The fact of 'publication' ably argued in "Another Letter on Libels," 1770, p. 44.

author of *The North Briton*. In this we rejoice to know that it failed. The sound-hearted, right-minded public refused to entertain the charge, as wholly irrelevant to the question at issue between *The North Briton* and the Ministers; and the disgraceful means by which the evidence had been suborned did infinite damage to the government, and far more to public morals than the crime itself with which Wilkes was charged. The facts, then only guessed at, were soon known. Professedly, the Ministers first got an inkling of this work from some letters illegally seized under the General Warrant:—but Sandwich, at least, knew of it before, for he had seen it in manuscript. It is probable that they first got a knowledge that it had been in part printed from letters and papers illegally seized at Kearsley's under an illegal warrant. They however, now obtained the copy of so much as had been printed by direct bribery and profuse promises to one of the printers employed by Wilkes,—who was thus induced to steal a copy. The man, in the end, not satisfied with some three hundred pounds, stated the facts on oath,* and prayed forgiveness of Mr. Wilkes. On this stolen copy of four sheets, and on evidence thus suborned and that of the required second witness—also one of the men employed by Wilkes, and also bribed—Lord Sandwich was not ashamed to prefer his charge before the House of Lords; and the Lords—the highest court of judicature in the kingdom—were not ashamed to prejudge the whole question,—to denounce Wilkes for not only writing, of which they had no proof, but for publishing, which they knew to be false, an obscene poem,—and to pray the King to order a prosecution, without permitting Wilkes to cross-examine or confront a witness, or even to offer one word in justification or in mitigation.

What a mockery was it in such times, with such ministers, and General Warrants in aid, to talk about the abolition of the Star Chamber! What a mockery would it have continued but for the abolition of these General Warrants—the declared illegality of seizing letters and papers, except in cases of high

* See the affidavit in *Oxford Magazine*, i. 121.

treason—the publication of the debates, and the consequent responsibility of members of parliament to an informed constituency—and the recognition of the right of juries in cases of libel to judge of the intention as well as the act, the law as well as the fact; a right claimed and exercised before it was declared by statute! Three of these triumphs we owe to the indomitable energy and uncompromising zeal of John Wilkes, —and to the spirit which he breathed into his countrymen we are mainly indebted for the fourth; and shall we who enjoy the blessings that resulted from his sufferings, be indifferent to his fame,—contentedly receive as unquestioned the heated exaggerations of his persecutors,—or sit silent when Whigs and Tories, Conservatives and Liberals, babble about him in ignorance that would be startling if it were not general—the best amongst them only affecting to grant him a new trial, in which, following the example of the old House of Lords, they take all the former evidence on trust and re-echo the former verdict?

If the personal morality of Wilkes was what we now consider low, so was the morality of the age—of the court—of the ministers. Mr. Cavendish said in the debate on Wilkes's resolution (Deb. i. 332), "Much has been said, sir, about the crimes of which Mr. Wilkes has been guilty. * * I should wish to put that gentleman in the midst of the Cabinet of this country, to see which of those reverend, grave and pious sages, would throw the first stone at him." The moral character of George the Third and Queen Charlotte had not then been felt in their blessed influences.* Intrigues and peccadilloes of that character were pretty much a matter of course with men of fashion—aye, and with women of fashion, too; and we are not aware that they kept their offendings a very profound secret. The Prime Minister to George the Third, the Duke of Grafton, and Nancy Parsons—who, by the bye, notwithstanding her notoriety contrived to die within the sanctuary of the peerage

* We have had proof, since published, how early George III. felt the disgrace which must attach to a Court where such men had influence. In 1764, when Halifax wanted to get rid of Lord Hertford, "the king," as Grenville notes in his Diary, "sometimes observes to Mr. G., that there are not among his servants too many people of decent and orderly character, that Lord Hertford is respectable in that light, and *therefore* not lightly to be cast aside."—Gren. Papers, ii. 514.

—the Duchess of Grafton and Lord Ossory—the Secretary of State to George the Third, Lord Sandwich and Miss Ray—the brother of George the Third and Lady Grosvenor—the Chancellor of the Exchequer to George the Third, Lord Le Despencer, and the Medmenham doings and paintings—Lord Irnham, whose daughter married the brother of George the Third—and the Luttrells generally, with the Colonel, the selected and not elected member for Middlesex, and Arabella Bolton in particular—Lord Talbot, high constable at the coronation of George the Third, a favoured courtier, and the Duchess of Beaufort—even some Maids of Honour—contrived to make a noise in their brief season; and if the labour of such research were not disgusting, the memoir writers of the day, the periodicals, and the proceedings of our courts of law and House of Lords would furnish us with a volume in further proof. We, however, have no desire to rake into the histories of private life. We notice only the acts of public men—of the statesmen and courtiers in the early part of the reign of George the Third:—and what more natural than that the distiller's son, welcomed, flattered and fooled by lords, should affect to live like a lord? Wilkes, as we have said, never obtruded his vices on the world, though it suited the purpose of his betrayers to drag them into the light of day. He never paraded them on his arm at the Opera as the king's Prime Minister did;—and never deserted the woman who had confided in him, as others did if we may put trust in their own published letters.*

As a father Wilkes's conduct was excellent beyond all question or cavil. The best proof is, the dutiful affection of his daughter from childhood to old age; made manifest after death by the directions in her will to be buried by his side,—not, as would seem more natural, by the side of her mother. But that unfortunate mother was too monotonous and wearisome—too selfish and self-indulgent, we fear—even for her

* In 1771—he w s then only 44—Wilkes wrote to Junius (i. 303), "I now live very much at home, happy in the elegant society of a sensible daughter." Where and with whom was his moral censor Sandwich, his moral majesty's Secretary of State or First Lord of the Admiralty, then living, and years after? See Hackman's trial for shooting Miss Ray, 1779. Wilkes had his *liaisons*, but kept them private..

kind daughter to live with her for more than a few weeks together without pining for her father and her home—"dear Princes Court."

The man thus loved—so loved through a long life by a good and accomplished daughter—could not have been so bad and so beyond the pale of sympathy as the trading politicians of his time would lead the public to believe. Yet, according to their report, Wilkes had all possible and even incompatible vices. One most frequently urged is, that he never hesitated, if he had a purpose to obtain, to attack friends as well as foes, and to use against them the very weapons which friendship had placed in his power. Lord Mahon not only repeats this charge, but illustrates it:—"nor did Wilkes's opponents find their former friendship with him afford any immunity from these attacks. Thus, the Abbot of Medmenham was most unsparingly lashed as soon as he became Chancellor of the Exchequer."* This is one of those vague assertions which it is difficult to disprove. Who could wade through the old folio *North Briton* to test its accuracy? Our impression was, that Wilkes had studiously avoided, as much as was possible in a fierce opposition journal, to touch on the marvellous deficiencies of the Medmenham Chancellor; and that when forced to do so, he had obviously tempered the lash with delicacy and discretion, or wrapped up his objections in figures of speech. Fortunately, we remembered that the *North Briton* was subsequently republished, and with an index. On turning to that index, we found that Dashwood† was only seven times referred to:—once

* "The Abbot of Medmenham" took, as became the King's servant, an early and active part, not against Sandwich's *immoral*, but against the political Wilkes. The new lord thus wrote to G. Grenville on 30th April, 1763. "Mankind in general I find are agreed that you act with proper spirit, indeed it was high time. Is it proper a stirrer up of sedition against the King and his *government* should command a regiment of militia? Will not that be a disgrace to the county of Bucks?" Wilkes was removed from his command by letter of 4th May. Lord Temple was dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy on the 7th May, and the moral Abbot of Medmenham was appointed his successor by the moral King on the 9th May. We mark a distinction between the Abbot's political and his moral objections, because within six weeks he wrote to thank G. G. for making 'Paul the aged,' the Secretary and Steward of the Club, a Commissioner of the Lottery.

† See Wilkes's own statement as to Dashwood.

simply as a gentleman whose word on a point in dispute would be conclusive,—and once when commenting on the qualifications or disqualifications of ministers, and when, therefore, it was unavoidable. The others are simply notes by the editor,—such being the obscurity of the text that an explanation was thought necessary. We must, therefore, conclude that Lord Mahon is in error. In our opinion, indeed, the charge is not only untrue but the very reverse of the truth ; it was a species of wrong of which Wilkes himself had just reason to complain. He attacked Chatham and Grafton and Onslow,—and well they deserved it, as we may hereafter show. He attacked Sandwich, whose appointment as Secretary of State had awakened in him such overflowing zeal for morality that on his first appearance in that character—on the very first day of the session, and before their Lordships could be permitted to take the King's speech into consideration—he laid the stolen Parody on the table and babbled forth all his horror about and against the author. Was Sandwich to be exempt from the just consequences of natural indignation on the score of old acquaintance? Wilkes attacked Horne :—but it was in his own defence. It was Horne who had the incredible meanness to rake up anecdotes about unpaid tavern bills and the disposal of old clothes: yet so little do people think it a duty to examine into any question which affects only the character of John Wilkes, that we have seen within these few days this very charge preferred against him, as if he had been the wrongdoer, and by one who would not knowingly or willingly have done him injustice. Wilkes attacked Macleane :—but Macleane had fallen off from the old friendship, and had first struck at Wilkes, and, as Wilkes believed, at the bidding of the Minister to whom he had sold himself, and when certainly he was willing to sell himself to any one,—and he got soon after a reward which looked like a price. He attacked Smollett ;—but not till Smollett had taken up a hireling pen in defence of Bute and offence against Wilkes.* When, however, "the

* Smollett, in 1757, dedicated his History of England to Mr. Pitt. On 4th June, 1757, Smollett thus wrote to Dr. Moore of Glasgow :—"I am pleased with

Briton" ceased, all animosity ceased with Wilkes,—who was a man of fine and generous temper. This Lord Mahon admits, when, after commending his dauntless courage and high animal spirits, he adds:—"Nor should we deny him another much rarer praise—a vein of good humour and kindliness, which did not forsake him through all his long career." But the cuts and bruises which Smollett had received rankled and festered; and it was thus that he embalmed the *North Briton*, and his friend John Wilkes, in what was then and has ever since been ludicrously called a 'History of England.'—

"The *North Briton* was pre-eminently distinguished by its attacks on men as well as measures. The author of this journal was the celebrated John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury and a lieutenant-colonel of the Buckinghamshire Militia; a man possessed of considerable talent and erudition, with an abundance of ready wit; but ruined in fortune, and disgraced by the most dissolute morals and profligate habits. * * Scandalous, however, as was the character of this demagogue," &c. &c.

We give this as a specimen; no doubt the party pamphlet is to be found on the library shelves of the reader,—for to the shame of our literature, 'Smollett's History of England,' as it is called, is still the established continuation of Hume. Wilkes hereupon published some private letters which he had received from Smollett;—observing on this, or on a like, occasion, that the printer need not fear to do so, for though there was a law against self-murder there was none against self-libel. Wilkes and Smollett had been old friends. In proof, when Dr. Johnson's black servant was pressed and taken on board ship, Johnson applied to Smollett,—and Smollett says in his letter to Wilkes, "I gave him to understand that I would make application to my friend Mr. Wilkes, who, perhaps, by his interest with Mr. Hay and Mr. Elliot [at that time Lords of

the kind expression in which you mention my dedication to Mr. Pitt, who has treated me with that genuine politeness by which he is as much distinguished in private life *as by his superior talents in the service* of his country."—Irving's History of Dumbartonshire, 2nd edit., p. 350.

the Admiralty] might be able to procure the discharge of his lacquey." Wilkes, it was quite certain, from his character, would exert himself on such an occasion; indeed he had evidently done Smollett some service before,—for the letter begins with the acknowledgment "I am *again* your petitioner." Smollett proceeded in a subsequent letter of thanks—"your generosity with respect to Johnson shall be the theme of our applause and thanksgiving"—to ask Wilkes to interfere and see if it were possible to induce Admiral Knowles to stop a prosecution which he had commenced against the *Critical Review* for a libel written by Smollett.—In fact, in every letter he asks or acknowledges some favour. But to bring the public and private opinion of Smollett in immediate juxta-position, be it remembered that the *North Briton* was started on the 5th of June, 1762, by a man described by Smollett in his 'History' as a most scandalous demagogue, "ruined in fortune, and disgraced by the most dissolute morals and profligate habits"—yet here is a letter written to this same man not three months before 'Tobias became the Briton' and the champion of Lord Bute.—

"CHELSEA, *March* 28, 1762.

"Dear Sir,—My warmest regard, affection, and attachment you have long ago secured; my secrecy you may depend upon. When I presume to differ from you in any point of opinion, I shall always do it with diffidence and deference. I have been ill these three months; but hope soon to be in a condition to pay my respects to Mr. Wilkes in person. Meanwhile, I must beg leave to trouble him with another packet, which he will be so good as to consecrate at his leisure. That he may continue to enjoy his happy flow of spirits, and proceed through life with a full sail of prosperity and reputation, is the wish, the hope, and the confident expectation of his much obliged, humble servant, "T. SMOLLETT."

Wilkes, we are told, also attacked Hogarth:—but Horace Walpole, who thought so highly and wrote so well of Hogarth, acknowledges that "if Hogarth did not commence direct hostilities, * * he at least obliquely gave the first offence, by an

attack on the friends and party of that gentleman." Wilkes was at the time intimately associated with Lord Temple, and politically, at least, with Mr. Pitt, and doing battle in favour of these men—the party and principles which they represented. The moment he heard of Hogarth's hostile intention, he wrote in a friendly spirit to remonstrate,—told the Painter that such a proceeding was not only unfriendly but injudicious, "for such a pencil ought to be universal and moral, to speak to all ages and all nations; not to be dipt in the dirt of the faction of the day." Hogarth replied, that Wilkes would not be personally attacked. "On this, Wilkes informed Hogarth that he should never resent reflections on himself: but if his friends were attacked, he should then deem himself wounded in the most sensible part, and avenge their cause as well as he was able." So he did:—Hogarth published his print, and Wilkes his commentary. No moral censure can attach to either;—and we rejoice at it. We would not willingly ruffle a feather of that Fame which has borne the name of Hogarth in honour over the wide world,—but cannot allow even Genius to triumph over Justice.

We referred to Allan Cunningham's 'Life of Hogarth,' to see how the story was there told. On the whole, fairly;—with an obvious wish to make the best case for the painter, which was natural and becoming in his biographer,—but with some hard words on Wilkes's general character:—and Mr. Cunningham would have been more or less than a Scotchman if there had not been. This reminds us of another of Wilkes's offences—his attack on the Scotch.

All Englishmen, and Scotchmen too, will now agree with Mr. Pitt that national reflections are "detestable,"—but were they so considered in 1762? Why, hatred of the Scots then raged like an epidemic; and we have heard that sober, moral, orthodox gentlemen—Dr. Johnson amongst them—had very severe attacks of it. Neither is this altogether inexplicable.*

* Those who are acquainted with the literature of the period, must have read much that had the same savour or flavour—Churchill of course—Mason in the Heroic Epistle, and the other works of Malcolm McGregor. Burke in letter to Burgh, so late as 1780 (see Burke's Junius, p. 196), says "*The whole kingdom of*

The English people had submitted to two revolutions that they might get rid of the House of Stuart; whilst the Scots had clung to the fallen family with a pertinacity that does honour to their general sympathies, though very little to their judgment. Twice afterwards had the English been challenged to the field and been compelled to do battle for the House of Brunswick,—twice had the nation been thrown into confusion by the Scots and their attempts to restore the fallen family. The English, therefore, had paid far too dearly for their whistle to look on the Scots with indifference. The governments of "fifteen" and "forty-five" had appealed to and aroused this nationality; and when George the Third proposed to put an end to these divisions—to unite all parties—it was not to be expected that the people should comprehend and sympathize with him in a moment, and interpret every act of his government as if it were abstract and isolated and irrespective of the past. When, therefore, in opening his first parliament, the King called himself "a Briton" instead of "an Englishman," the latter being the only phrase with which they were familiar—and when they saw the Cabinet taken possession of, not by their old leaders, but by an unknown Scotch lord, with no claim or pretence but the fact that he was the favourite or the minion of the Court—when they soon after saw Mr. Legge, Mr. Pitt's Chancellor of the Exchequer, kicked out of office because he had dared to oppose the Scotch nominee of the Scotch lord for an English county, for which Legge had been by requisition of the freeholders solicited to become a candidate—when they saw their old idol Mr. Pitt himself, in the very height of his and the nation's triumphs forced to retire, and Temple, another popular man, to retire with him,—it is not to be wondered at that the people (no matter how ignorantly or passionately) translated "Briton"

Scotland ranges with the venal, the unprincipled, and the wrong-principled of this [country]." After all, if the English hated the Scotch, the Scotch hated the English. See how one Scotchman could write to another :—"Our government is become a chimera, and is too perfect in point of liberty, for so rude a beast as an Englishman, who is, &c., a bad animal too, corrupted by about a century of licentiousness."—Hume to Sir Gilbert Elliot, Life of Hume, ii. 434.

into "Scotchman." * It is easy to be philosophical and cool in the condemnation of such folly now,—but men were not cool in 1762; and a thousand circumstances, accidental and incidental, tended to confirm their opinions or their prejudices as to the inclinations and tendencies of the Court—and of the "influence behind the throne greater than the throne itself." They saw representatives of the Great Revolution families dismissed from lord-lieutenancies, and others throw up the same in disgust—the Dukes of Devonshire, Newcastle and Grafton, the Marquis of Rockingham and Earl Temple. They saw notorious Jacobites welcomed at Court and appointed to office. They saw that the humblest as well as the highest who had been connected with the Whig party were removed, even down to doorkeepers and housekeepers.† They saw, or felt, or heard whispered, perhaps, what we know,—that a question was submitted to the Lord Chancellor whether the King might not cancel even patents granted in the last reign. They saw the *Gazette* filled with unpronounceable names—"Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp," ‡—in one *Gazette* that "the King

* It was so translated almost within an hour by the King's Prime Minister (see Newcastle's letter to Hardwicke (Life, iii. 231). The Speech was drawn by Hardwicke, and the *Briton*, &c., were inserted in the King's hand, and Newcastle observes 'it denotes the author.' See Mahon and Nichols quoted, Life of Hard., iii. 232.

† "It is believed," says Lady Temple, 7 Dec. 1762 (ii. 21) "and given out, that even to a hundredth cousin of those who have not behaved well, are to march out of the most trifling places." See also Rockingham's Memoirs, i. 158, and 'A Candid Refutation' by one of the Rockingham party.—J. T. iii. p. 11.

‡ The four names here quoted are from Scots Magazine, 1763, p. 584. Qy. Selected as Scotchmen? The following from Scots Magazine, 1763, July, p. 416—some are appointments in foreign service, Dutch, Portuguese—and therefore again suggest selection. To judge by names may we divide thus—

Scotch.	English.	Doubtful.
Murray—Murray,		
Grant—Campbell,		
Melville—Johnston,		
Morison—Adair,	Biddulph,	Caillaud,
Paterson—Erskine,	Townshend,	Beven.
Forbes—Robinson,	Crosbie,	
Bruce,	Luke,	
Craig,	Jones.	
Grant,		
Webster.		

had been pleased to constitute and appoint the Hon. James Murray to be His Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's province of Quebec"—James Grant, Captain General and Governor in Chief, &c., in and over East Florida—George Johnson, &c., over West Florida—and Robert Melville over Granada, the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago;—in another *Gazette*, as we learn from the periodicals of the day, out of sixteen promotions, eleven were given to Stuarts and four to Mackenzies:—and seeing these things, it is not very extraordinary that living men who had suffered in two rebellions, or their sons to whom the traditions were familiar, should believe the Scots to be the "fatal race" represented—

> Whom first our greatness to oppose,
> God in His vengeance mark'd for foes;
> Then more to work His wrathful ends,
> And more to curse us, mark'd for friends.

This may have been very absurd,—but certainly it was not the exclusive error and exceptional infirmity of John Wilkes.

Lord Mahon tells us—"The cases of national partiality in Lord Bute were by no means numerous, nor yet extending to the higher offices of State. Even his own private secretary—in which beyond all others a national or personal bias may be fairly indulged—was born south of the Tweed." In our opinion, the selection of private secretary is precisely a question on which a minister of State can neither indulge his national nor any other predilections. A secretary is another self, for whose actions the minister is responsible;—and with many ministers all hopes of success have depended on the official tact, skill, and judgment of the secretary,—in fact, the secretary has been minister. It is not, however, with the fact, but with the popular belief that we are concerned; and it certainly did happen, as we have shown, that in the early years of the reign of George the Third many circumstances tended to feed the delusion. The especial favourite was a Scotchman—the Prime Minister the same Scotchman—the Lord Chief Justice was a Scotchman who had, or was believed to have, drank success to

the Pretender on his knees. The Court swarmed with Scotchmen;—and if more did not hold high office they got some profitable ones—and twos;—Sir Gilbert Elliott, for example, with 3,000*l.* a-year for himself, while he drew captain's half-pay for his son, a boy of ten years of age. Subsequently the Lord Chancellor was a Scotchman,—Scotchmen were preferred as king's architects, and Ramsay to Reynolds as Court painter. But no matter, we repeat, whether the popular opinion was just or unjust,—all we desire is to show that the opinion was general.

We must now say a few words about the *North Briton*.

The *North Briton*, whether good or bad, was a consequence of and followed in reply to the *Briton*, a paper established by Lord Bute, the king's government, and the "king's friends" as they were pleased to call themselves. It is curious to see how these questions are now treated. Lord Mahon tells us that "the patronage of literature which Lord Bute had at his outset too ostentatiously professed was also in its exercise much inveighed against." Patronage of literature!—this is the soft, euphuistic phrase by which we are in future to designate the pay and purchase-money given to hirelings to write up an unpopular Government! Was starting the *Briton*, because Smollett profited by it,—or the *Auditor* under Murphy, patronage of literature? Was buying off and over with a pension the old pilloried pamphleteer Shebbeare, patronage of literature? Was giving a pension of 600*l.* a-year and another of 300*l.* a-year, in addition to Church preferment, to Francis for abusing Mr. Pitt and his friends, patronage of literature? Was it patronage of literature that conferred the Professorship of Modern Languages on the obscure tutor of his son-in-law in preference to Gray, the poet, the scholar, and the most accomplished man in the University, who had condescended to ask him for it? Patronage of literature by Lord Bute!—patronage of literature by any minister of George the Third! The idea is pleasant, certainly; and we have no doubt that a little essay might be written on the countenance, protection, and patronage given to literature and literary men since the accession of the House of Hanover, that would be as amusing as any half-

dozen chapters in the 'Curiosities of Literature.' Some sign indeed of what is called patronage budded forth under George the Fourth; but it was a poor, spindling, unhealthy plant, forced in the artificial heat of court favour, not a genial outburst springing in the natural sunshine of heart-sympathy, and therefore it died young,—and, fortunately, without moral or social influence. But Lord Mahon tells us that the cavils against Johnson's pension recoil on those who uttered them. This is a very natural sentiment in 1851, when all rejoice that the literary veteran was made happy in his old age by a pension,—and no doubt hundreds rejoiced at it then as now, and none more heartily or sincerely than John Wilkes; but it is no reason why the Doctor, who spared no one opposed to him, should be himself spared when, at the bidding of the Government and on the strength of that pension, he descended into the dirty arena of party politics. If "pension" meant "pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country" when Johnson wrote and published his Dictionary,—surely simple men might ask what it meant after he had become a pensioner, and when the old Jacobite was writing in defence of the House of Hanover, its policy, and government? Then, if "patronage of literature" is to be urged in favour of Bute, the minister, why not "patronage of the Peerage," and "patronage of placemen"? At the same time, and from the same generous and disinterested motives, which induced him to patronize Smollett and Shebbeare, Johnson and Murphy, Mallett and Francis, Ruffhead and Guthrie and Cleland, and others illustrious and forgotten, "sixteen peerages were created,—the Lords of the Bed-chamber were doubled,—the Grooms of the Bed-chamber were doubled, the salaries of other places were doubled,—obsolete places were revived,—many were pensioned out of offices to make vacancies for others." The man who records this calls it opening "the flood-gates of corruption,"—and tells us that "the whole power and patronage of the Crown were exerted to the utmost to support his [Lord Bute's] administration." This was a vulgar error:—it was obviously only another form of what in future we are to call "patronage."

To return, however, to the *North Briton*. Whatever may have been its merits or demerits, the influential men of the party approved of the design, and some contributed. Of course, we except Mr. Pitt, who never committed himself by approving of anything,—he only profited, and kept clear of consequences. But neither the *North Briton* generally nor the obnoxious and prosecuted No. 45 is so outrageous as is generally asserted or assumed :—there is nothing, for example, in No. 45 and the condemnation of the king's speech so severe as in Mr. Fox's comment on the King's speech in 1781. There is no attempt in it to raise a hue-and-cry against the King. The writer does not say—and Lord Brougham may take our word for it—"the Queen has done it all." He treats the speech throughout as the speech of the minister. He drew the line—and is said to have been the first who drew it—with the breadth and clearness indicated by the constitution. So far from attacking the king personally, there are many civil and almost servile things said of him in the *North Briton* at which a nineteenth-century Englishman would shake his head if he did not remember the contemporary abasements before royalty of such a man as Chatham. The *North Briton* may not have been so conducted as on every occasion to win the approbation of studious, retired, and philosophic minds, even though they wished well to the cause and party. But in the conduct and management of a newspaper consideration must be had to the temper and disposition of the people. The writer who honestly desires to effect a public good through the agency of the people must appeal to their passions,—extent of circulation is the extent and measure of his power. It may perhaps interest the reader if we look a little into the secret history of No. 45.

The *North Briton* was established, as we have said, to write down the *Briton*, Lord Bute's paper, and to write out Lord Bute himself,—and it was successful. The *Briton* was given up in February, Lord Bute resigned in April, and George Grenville was appointed his successor. The *North Briton*, therefore, having accomplished its purpose, was virtually at an end, its suspension was announced by advertisement, and Wilkes

went to Paris. But the writ for a new election at Buckingham, consequent on the appointment of George Grenville, was not issued until the 19th of April, the very day on which Parliament was prorogued, because George Grenville had no hope of being re-chosen unless Lord Temple, who was in fierce opposition, should give his consent.* On the 18th, Mr. Grenville applied to Temple, and by way of conciliation sent him a copy of the speech. Mr. Pitt was with Temple at the time when the letter was received. Almon's account now runs on as follows:—

"Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt were much displeased on reading the king's speech which they had thus received. Mr. Pitt spoke 'with warmth' and indignation on the passage respecting the King of Prussia; and Lord Temple adopted his sentiments. At this instant Mr. Wilkes happened to call upon his lordship; having just returned from Paris. Mr. Wilkes agreed in sentiment concerning the speech; and when he returned home he wrote a sketch of the conversation which passed on the subject while he was present. From this sketch, and some additions of his own, he wrote this celebrated paper, the forty-fifth number, which was published on Saturday the 23rd of April."

Thus, the *North Briton* was revived for this special occasion.

It is another proof, we believe, of the ingratitude of Wilkes that in the November following, and after the *North Briton* was concluded, Mr. Pitt took the opportunity of denouncing the paper in the House of Commons as an illiberal, unmanly, and detestable publication! How was this?—He knew what it was while in existence,†—he knew what it had been from the

* Temple took care that G. G. should be told so, for the following was the reply of the burgesses to G. G., 30 May, 1762:—"Hon^ble Sir, Lord Temple having signified to us that his lordship *will not interest himself* one way or the other upon the vacancy; and you having desired of us the favour of a re-election, we are not unwilling to comply with your request, having chosen you already *so often after his lordship's desire*, by *which means too*, you became a member of the Corporation.—We are, Hon^ble Sir," &c.

† We know what he thought of it in June—he doubted whether No. 45 was a libel, and thought that holding it so, would in a high degree infringe the liberty of the press.—Hardwicke's Life, iii. 358.

first number to the last, for it was at least consistent,—he knew it when he talked over the king's speech with Temple and Wilkes, and thus (a not unusual course with wary politicians), furnished material for a number beyond the last, the celebrated No. 45,—he knew that his friends and party had approved and patronized it,—he probably knew, what was and is still believed, that Lord Temple contributed to it as much and as well as he was able,*—he knew that Temple had written, printed, and privately circulated a defence of this same *North Briton*, or rather of the obnoxious No. 45;—and yet, knowing these things, and while he whined about Temple as "his friend, his bosom friend, whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue," he denounced his embryo Governor of Canada, and that at a moment when, for services rendered to Pitt and his party, he was fighting a desperate battle single-handed against the whole force, legal and illegal, of the Government. How was this?—why this denunciation of the dead? † We are sorry to answer the question,—but truth is better than Pitt or Wilkes, or both together. It was well known that the King disliked Pitt; and on the 2nd of April, 1763,—and, therefore, just before the supplemental No. 45 was published,—Bute, on announcing his resignation to the Duke of Bedford, and requesting him to accept the office of President of the Council in the new Ministry, informed him that the King had resolved to abide by three things, the first of which is sufficient for our purpose,—"never upon any account to suffer those ministers of the late reign who had attempted to fetter and enslave him ever to come into his service while he lives to hold the sceptre." ‡ We have no doubt

* From the Gren. Corr. i. 469, I infer that on 11 Sept. 1762, Temple had seen in MS. or in Proof a forthcoming *North Briton*—had suggested 'emendations' to a great 'extent,' and inserted an attack on G. G. Wilkes replied (473), "I approve fully all your lordship's corrections but *one*. George cannot come in there as it were by the bye; because he is to have a separate piece to himself." See Temple, Reply of 22 Sept., p. 474. See also Almon's Anecdotes, ii. 10, 11.

† It was one of those opportune outbursts for which Mr. Pitt was always *prepared*. Mr. Smith (Gren. Corr. ii. 164) quotes L[d]. Barrington's letter to Mitchell, who describes it as worth £50,000, and securing a quiet session. Just the speech to put the King in good humour. See, too, Lady Temple's letter, 20th Nov. 1763—same page.

‡ This was the King's avowed resolution so late as 23rd and 24th Aug. 1763—

the king was sincere in this determination—that Chatham knew it, and thought so;—but it happened with George the Third even more frequently than with other kings,—and must happen to all in constitutional monarchies,—that he was obliged to act contrary to his resolved and declared intention. It was soon manifest to Lord Bute that "the triumvirate" were not the men he had taken them for,—they were not content to be mere tools and do his bidding;—and, seeing this, while they were endeavouring to strengthen themselves against him and his closet influence, he resolved to circumvent them, and through the agency of Lord Shelburne, he opened a negotiation with Mr. Pitt. The sudden death of Lord Egremont brought the plot to a crisis; concealment was no longer desirable, and after a little flirtation about a proposed meeting in private, Bute went openly and called on Mr. Pitt. The preliminaries seem to have been soon and satisfactorily settled, and Bute suggested that Mr. Pitt should explain himself to the King. That was obviously impossible to a man who was not of his Council nor in his service. But "suppose," said Bute, "his Majesty should order you to attend him?" Mr. Pitt's answer need not be given for the information of any who know the character of the man. His Majesty's "command" came, of course, the next day,—and a very bitter command it must have been to His Majesty. Any man but Mr. Pitt would have resented the form of it,—for it came in an open, unsealed note. No matter:—to the amazement of the Ministers, the well-known gouty chair was seen next day at the Queen's Palace. All, we are told, went on prosperously; a second interview was ap-

the latter *the very day* Bute opened the negociation with Pitt, through Beckford, and after it had been opened by Bute through Shelburne. See Grenville, Diary, ii. 194, 5. See also Gren. Corr. ii. 89, 90. See also what Egremont said to Hardwicke as early as 13th May, 1763 (Hard. Life of, iii. 351), of course a quibble might be raised on the word 'entirely' in the dialogue reported by Grenville, ii. 194, 5; but quibble or not, the whole proceedings from first to last in respect to that negociation with Chatham, show either that the young king was an imbecile in the control of Bute or a consummate hypocrite. See for double dealing, Gren. Corr. ii. 204, and forward.—See Principles of late Changes, J. T. ii. 21.

pointed; and Mr. Pitt thought matters so certainly arranged, that he informed his friends and supporters. For some reason never yet explained, the second interview ended with civilities; and, according to report, with—"Well, Mr. Pitt, I see (or I fear) this won't do,—my honour is concerned, and I must support it."

Mr. Pitt, however, saw that *it would do*—that his return to office, earlier or later, was possible; and therefore—we regret to write it—therefore this indignant outburst—this wanton sacrifice of his humble follower—of one who had loved him, "not wisely but too well." * Mr. Pitt, with a far-reaching eye, saw at once the condition on which only he could hope ever again to enter and retain office—and he gave this earnest of his loyal and royal affections:—and soon after had one of those opportune fits of the gout which prevented his attendance in Parliament through a whole session,—and until, to his amazement, the Rockinghams were installed in office.† The cure was immediate,—he was at once fresh and vigorous "as a four-year-old." Who can prove this? Of course it is not on the record—it was not the condition of a bond signed, sealed and delivered. Assume the contrary,—the cowardliness and cruelty remain, only we have no motive to assign. It may be said that he disapproved of the fierce virulence of the attack on the Scots — of national reflections. Why, so did others. Temple protested against them:‡—but Wilkes was not a puppet to be moved at the bidding even of those whom he loved,—and Temple was an honourable man who would have been content to be excluded from office and from the Court and countenance of royalty for ever rather than attack one who had a whole pack of hirelings and lawyers hunting him to prison, to exile and to death,—and whose only fault, so far as his party

* It was always Pitt's policy to keep on good terms personally with the King, and even with him whom the King delighted to honour, although he occasionally and for the moment seemed to act in opposition to this. See Letter, 18th Oct. 1761, Memoirs of Rockingham, i. 52.

† That this fit of the gout was, as I supposed, a mere pretence, is shown by the D. of Newcastle's letter.—See Memoir of Rockingham, i. 181.

‡ See Almon's Anecdotes, ii. 32; also Memoir of Temple, ii.

were concerned, was a zeal that outran discretion. The proof of Mr. Pitt's motive is patent to all who can ascend from consequences to causes—from 1765 and 1766 to 1768.

To the honour of Wilkes, be it remembered, that though he lived in an age of frightful personal corruption, when members of Parliament, almost as a matter of course received an *honorarium* for their vote—when to induce them to approve my Lord Bute's Peace of Fontainbleau, the majority, or most of its members received from two hundred to a thousand pounds a piece, paid down in hard cash,—no one has ventured to accuse Wilkes of selling his vote. He was neither bought nor sold. It has, indeed, been sneeringly said that he wanted a bribe,—and an application to be appointed ambassador to Constantinople has been adduced in proof. Are all such appointments bribes? If not, why in the case of Wilkes? Wilkes was as competent—had as good a claim—as Henry Grenville; who had been battening for a dozen or more years as Governor of Barbadoes, whilst Wilkes had been battling at contested elections, and squandering thousands, in support of the party. That Henry Grenville got it, proves only that he was brother-in-law to Mr. Pitt and Temple's brother. Wilkes, too, offered himself for a place in the Board of Trade—any place, as he said, where he might usefully employ his time and attention. In 1761, when there was believed to be a probability of peace, and of the cession of Canada, he expressed a wish to go out as Governor; and surely he had as good a claim as that illustrious, "the Hon. James Murray,"—whom His Majesty was afterwards pleased "to constitute and appoint." † His "ambition," as Wilkes himself tells us, "was, to have reconciled the new subjects to the English, and to have shown the French the advantages of the mild rule of the laws over that of lawless power

† A good story is told, not the less to be laughed at because the date runs counter—that W. made application to Rigby to get the D. of B. to ask the appointment from Lord Bute. Rigby remarked that Bute could have no security against such attacks whilst Lloyd and Churchill remained, "Wilkes solemnly assured him there need not be the least apprehension of that; for that he would make Churchill his chaplain, and Lloyd his secretary, and take them both with him to Canada."—See authority in Prior's Life of Malone, p. 363.

and despotism: "—and what man was more likely to have been successful? We are told as "certain, that had the negotiations taken a favourable turn, and peace been the consequence, he would have been appointed to the honourable situation,—for both Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt gave him the most flattering assurance." We think this more than probable,—for Wilkes had not then offended the King. Those who are curious in such speculations may calculate the effects of such an appointment—not on the character of Wilkes, for that would have remained essentially the same—but on the character which we should have received of him from historians and biographers. Like "a most curious mantle" office would have covered all his vices,—all reference to private character would have been personal and offensive,—all we should have had to consider would have been the character of his government. Placemen, pensioners, courtiers, *et id genus* would have felt bound by the established *esprit de corps* to make the best, as they now seem bound to make the worst, of him. But unhappily the treaty came to nothing,—Mr. Pitt, who saw that he could not contend successfully against Bute, threw up with a flourish; and Wilkes, who was content with promises and kind words—he was always grateful for them—followed his leader into opposition,—and forthwith came out with a pamphlet, admitted to have been able and successful, in vindication of the course pursued by Mr. Pitt.* Not content with this—not content to take rank amongst "His Majesty's opposition"—a legitimate and recognized band of gentlemen who never commit themselves by efficiency beyond redemption, and are therefore always eligible for and in expectation of office—he, foolish enthusiast, did what others wanted done, carried fire and sword into the enemy's camp, startled all the conventionalities by the 'Dedication to the Fall of Mortimer,' followed the *Briton* with

* This was a piece of chivalrous generosity, for Pitt was not only out of place, but out of favour with the people—even Temple's burgesses of Buckingham refused to drink Pitt's health. See T. to Wilkes, Oct. 1761, Gren. Corr. i. 406. At that time Wilkes had conferred favours on Chatham, but not received one either from Chatham or Temple. T. says so, Oct. 1762, Gren. Corr. i. 479. How truly Walpole predicted the fate of political writers to Almon, and he illustrated by reference to Wilkes.—Gren. Corr. ii. 458.

the *North Briton*, and never laid down his pen until he had driven Bute, not only from the ministry and the councils of the King, but from the kingdom. Here was his great and unpardonable fault :—he had been much too earnest and efficient in his opposition,—he had offended the King—and all who know anything of George the Third must be aware that he never forgave.

However, in 1765 a section of his party got possession of office,—in 1766 another and more influential. The claims of Wilkes had been admitted by both :—it was, indeed, impossible to deny them. He had been their life and living spirit so far as the people were concerned,—he had been half ruined by contested elections, and wholly by the persecution of the Government,—he had fought for the party, literally as well as figuratively,—he had been imprisoned, tried, compelled to fly his country and live in exile,—his life for a time was not worth a twelvemonth's purchase,—and what so reasonable and just as that when they came into power his claims should be the first recognized? This principle of party compensation may be good or bad; but no other was known at that time, nor had been for half a century. England and Ireland were governed by it.—Here is a curious illustrative paragraph from a letter written by that wily old minister, Newcastle, to the Lord Lieutenant, less than half-a-dozen years before,—in 1760.

"I have this day executed them [your commands] with the king in the manner which I hope will be to your satisfaction. I did not understand that I was to lay *the particular* recommendations before the king. I had no paper left with me by your Grace,—I only took heads; so all I could do was *to read heads to the king*. The enclosed is what I took down—[the enclosed was a list of Peers to be promoted, Commoners to be created Peers, gentlemen and others to be made Privy Councillors, and persons to be appointed to or promoted in office]; and *I acquainted His Majesty that I had really forgot the names of the Lords who were to be promoted to be Earls*. The king very readily consented *to every person* your Grace shall propose; and *His Majesty was so willing to give the Irish*

pensions, that indeed I did not *trouble* him with *naming* the three or four last." *

Yet in these piping times, when peerages and pensions were conferred without *troubling* His Majesty with the names of the parties, there was nothing for Wilkes. His claims were admitted:—letters and facts prove this. Here is a letter from George Onslow,†—written when just pluming his feathers in the sunshine of office,—from which it might have been supposed that something would result. What did result was, that this same George Onslow became afterwards one of the most bitter persecutors of the man to whom his letter was addressed, and the unscrupulous tool of an unscrupulous ministry:—another proof, we suppose, of the ingratitude of Wilkes.

"My dear old friend,—Having been most shamefully silent to you during the remainder of an opposition which did honour to every man concerned in it, and to the credit of which you so much contributed, I now begin my correspondence with you, at my first entering into office, with and under an administration whose principles I hope and believe will authorize your giving equal support to in their very different situation. If they did not, as I know they do, revere and hold sacred those sentiments they avowed during the last two years, and hold in abhorrence those vile and detestable ones of persecution and injustice, which the public were so injured in, in your person, I should be ashamed of what I am now proud—bearing the small share I do among them. Honest Humphrey has dined with me here to-day; and we have just drank your health, as we have often done. Honest as he is, I never felt him more so than your last letter to him, which he has just

* If we may believe the reports of his contemporaries, the moral character or social position of Wilkes could not have been urged against his going out Governor-General. Burke, in a letter to Lord Lyttelton (Life of L. ii. 604), gives this account of the American officials—"most of the places in the gift of the Crown, have been filled with broken members of Parliament, of bad if of any principles, pimps, *valet de chambres*, electioneering scoundrels, and even livery-servants." There is more, and worth quoting.

† "The false, silly fellow" of Junius—the "George Lord Onslow" of the Peerage. See Horne's letter to him, Js. i. 190.—See paragraph from another letter of Onslow's, given in Js. iii. 231, 2.

now showed me, has made him appear to me, in having done justice to my very sincere and constant regards to and admiration of you. Every word of this letter of yours (dated the 26th of August, at Geneva) I subscribe to; and think, and persuade myself, the completion of our patriot, not selfishness, (for such they are not,) will soon appear amongst other proofs of integrity, steadiness, and virtue in the present ministry; and of their being as inimical as ever to those whom they have been opposing, for having acted contrary to all those principles. Your friend Mrs. Onslow has been enjoying, with us, in infinite mirth, your last specimen of notes on different parts of great Churchill's works, — viz. Hogarth, Talbot, and the scoundrel Bishop [Warburton]. They are specimens, indeed, of your amazing abilities; and when he has more of them he has promised me a copy. Believe me, my dear John, your mentioning me as you do gratifies my pride; as it will always do to show myself your friend and humble servant. I was always so as a public and as a private man. Our good friend Humphrey and I are, at this moment, in your service, and from us both you shall soon hear,—particularly as to the contents of your letter of the 26th.—I beg you to believe that I most truly and affectionately am, your faithful, humble servant, "GEORGE ONSLOW."

What a bad fellow Wilkes must have been, when it was this same devoted friend and servant who, being in office, moved the infamous Resolutions which the House on a returning sense of decency ordered to be expunged from the records of its proceedings:—which Resolutions must, we suppose, be considered as the "public" proof of the "private" abhorrence in which Onslow and others had always held the "vile and detestable" persecution with which Wilkes had been pursued. Be it emphatically observed, that the moralities or immoralities of Wilkes—his offences, social, moral, or political—offer no justification here; for they were all known and notorious, and recorded in the King's Courts, long before this letter was written, or these people obtained office.

In justice to the Duke of Grafton, we must acknowledge that his gratitude held out months later; for he assigned as

his reason for retiring from the Rockingham ministry, that no measures were taken to satisfy Mr. Pitt, and that his friend Mr. Wilkes, who had suffered so much for the party, had been abandoned. To be sure, a dissolution of the Rockingham ministry was at that time foreseen, even by mole-eyed politicians :—and it took place accordingly. Within a few months, Grafton returned to office; and Wilkes hurried over from his long exile, and announced his arrival by letter,—with congratulations that a nobleman of his Grace's "inflexible integrity" was now in high office. Poor Wilkes! He had, it appeared, been encouraged to take this step by Colonel Fitzroy, the Duke's brother,—and because, as he said, "on a variety of occasions your Grace had testified a full approbation of my conduct,—had thanked me in the most flattering terms as the person the most useful to the common cause in which we were embarked." Poor Wilkes! The Duke, who had withdrawn from the Rockingham party some six months previously for the reasons before assigned, had now the incredible meanness to send a *verbal* answer to his "friend's" letter, and to refer him to Mr. Pitt, now become Lord Chatham! Wilkes flung the cowardly insult back in his face in an admirable letter which he instantly published. Refer him to Chatham! —to the man of all others who had most benefited by his labours and his sufferings, yet had, without provocation, and to suit his own selfish purposes, wantonly denounced him,—to Chatham, a man who had not a soul large and generous enough to overlook, under any circumstances, the indignities with which Wilkes had treated him, although he knew how well he deserved them,—who, if he had, would probably never have been minister.* Chatham may be a hero before Lord Mahon,—but he was no hero in presence of the king, nor in any matter that touched himself. The Duke of Grafton knew

* It appears from the Grenville Corr. since published, that the prosecution and persecution of Wilkes originated with the King personally, and was carried on *against the opinion of his Ministers.* In August, 1763, when the King was resolved to change his Ministers, Mr. Grenville notes in his Diary (ii. 191) "the *sacrificing* his servants in Mr. Wilkes' affair, *though acting by his Majesty's commands*"—because the opposition would treat on no other terms. So I interpret the passages.

—must have known, by his endurance and past suffering—that Wilkes was not the man to humble himself before one who had attacked him. He was content to ask forgiveness of his sovereign—and did—for any offence that he might in the heat and hurry of the battle have unintentionally given; but to abase himself before or ask a favour from Chatham, "every principle of honour, both public and private, forbad it," as Wilkes told him. It was all a miserable shuffle:—the King would not forgive, and they knew it. So, Wilkes got nothing; and returned into exile,—to re-appear, however, like a meteor,

> At which the universal host up-sent
> A shout,

that frightened corruption and privilege, placemen and pensioners, Lords and Commons, and "with fear of change" perplexed royalty itself. Thenceforth the history of Wilkes is written in the constitutional history of his country,—and can neither be erased nor falsified.

We have at times thought that this "got nothing" must be the true explanation of the outcry raised against Wilkes while living, and with which his memory has been pursued. We must look for some exceptional cause; and in this only does he appear to have been the exceptional man—he got nothing. After all his zeal and services, his writings, battlings, sufferings, duellings, exile—he got nothing. Had he succeeded in getting the appointment of ambassador to Constantinople—had he gone out as governor to Canada—had he even crept in amongst the obscurities who presided at the Board of Trade—the old *esprit de corps* would have protected him. Had he won for himself a place, or a peerage, or a pension for life—or even a good reversion—he might have been tolerated, and have figured as a patriot to this hour—we know that half the "patriots" of the Georgian era can show no better title:*—

* It is the reward not the suffering that ensures an immortality—formerly it was broad acres—a peerage with crown lands or abbey lands that made a patriot and a race of patriots—now a peerage and a pension for lives. Burke was content without the peerage—with two pensions, one for sale and ready cash, the other to keep up his palace at Beaconsfield.

but to suffer and get nothing was a bad example. As Sheridan said when the servant let fall the tea-tray with a horrid crash that shook the nerves of the whole company, and then cried out, "Sir, there is nothing broken:"—"Nothing broken!—then more shame to have made such a noise."

It is a curious fact that Wilkes, the demagogue as he is called, came into parliament in 1757, at his own great cost, that he might "contribute more than warmest wishes for the support of the wise and excellent measures" of the minister, the first William Pitt,—and we find him, in 1783, giving zealous support to the minister, the second William Pitt. Yet Wilkes was a consistent politician. The first William Pitt was the greatest movement minister, if we may use the term, that ever possessed power. He held all red-tapists and their forms and formalities in utter scorn; and he raised the nation to a point of extern glory—the only glory then understood—higher perhaps than it had ever attained before, and which it has never passed since—no not in 1814. The son, too, the second William Pitt, was in 1783 and 1784 an avowed reform minister.* Burke joined him later when he was an enemy to reform. Wilkes, as of old, got nothing:†—Burke got pensions amounting to 8,700*l.* a year—and immortal fame as a great patriot. Mr. Prior, we rejoice to see, confirms our conjectures about the influences of this "got nothing." The coadjutors and admirers of Burke, he tells us, mistook the pension for a bribe. They forgot "that a pension is the usual and most open and honourable mode of rewarding great abilities devoted to the advancement of the public good; that

* Wilkes, in giving his support to the younger Wm. Pitt, followed the wishes of his constituents, and received their thanks passed at a public meeting of the electors of Middlesex, Feb. 19, 1784. The freedom of the City was also voted to Pitt, and when he received the deputation he was attended by many with old familiar names, though in some instances names and nothing more—by Chatham, Temple, Sydney, Camelford, Mahon, &c., and the address was presented by Alderman Townsend. At that moment Pitt was the most *popular* man in England. Wilkes' speech when he as Chamberlain presented Pitt with his freedom, shows that Wilkes held his old principles.—See the Magazines of the day.

† Nothing but abuse. Sharp attacks in the Rolliad for joining the younger Pitt. (See No. 12. See Part 2, No. 4, where Camden is subjected to like abuse

if receiving it were a proof of corruption, few of their own friends but were equally corrupt; and that, in fact, tried by *this standard of purity*, there was scarcely a single honest name, not excepting Lord Chatham himself, to be found in our annals." Mr. Prior's reading in "our annals," we suppose, does not reach beyond the accession of the House of Hanover, and, thus limited, we believe the assertion:—and we felt a sort of glow on our cheek when we remembered that by a fine instinct we had hit upon this "got nothing" as the head and front of Wilkes's offending—the reason, in fact, why he was the exceptional man. The inference, we fear, is obvious, and cannot be escaped from. Wilkes could not have been a man of "great abilities," nor one "devoted to the advancement of the public good:"—his persecutions, his sufferings, his exile, his ruin, go for nothing,—the abolition of General Warrants, the security of our homes, the sanctity of our most secret thoughts when committed to paper, the publication of the Debates in Parliament, the rights of Juries to decide on the law as well as the fact in cases of libel, are worth nothing:—for, the name of John Wilkes is not to be found in the pension list.

It is, as we are now satisfied, these "standards of purity," and other esoteric tests, which make private and public judgments so often run counter,—destroy all harmony and agreement between placemen, expectants, and the public:—and we acknowledge, to our shame, that we have never before tried the character of Wilkes by so high an historical standard. All, then, that we dare now say of him is, that with all his faults he was a true-born Englishman, with the marking characteristics, good and bad; who, having once taken up a position, even though driven to do so by his adversary, would maintain and defend it with bull-dog pertinacity, and at all costs, personal, political and social. His courage amounted almost to reckless daring; and he would resent an insult, whether it came from a Chatham, a Grafton, an Onslow, a Martin, or even a Grenville, though it should cost him the friendship of a Temple.

(412, &c.). Again, p. 319. See Caricature of Reconciliation, &c., Wright's House of Hanover, i. 446.)

He was a good, kind, and dutiful son,—a gentle, tender, and affectionate father. There is something morally beautiful in the fact that when challenged by Lord Talbot, his last act before the mad moonlight devilry began was, to write to Lord Temple thanking him for the friendship which he had ever shown to him, and entreating as a last and crowning favour, that if he fell his Lordship and Lady Temple would superintend the education of his daughter. Though drinking and gaming were amongst the vices of his age, he was no gambler, —and his abstinence was remarkable and a subject of remark. He rose early and read diligently. Indeed, his reading was extensive and varied beyond that of most men of his age not being professed scholars; not merely in the Classics, which he especially loved, but in most of the modern languages that had a literature—French, Spanish, and Italian. As the amusement of his leisure hours, and of that quiet domestic life which in truth he loved, he published editions of Catullus and Theophrastus, said to be almost unrivalled for accuracy,—and translated Anacreon so well, that Dr. Joseph Warton, no bad judge, pressed him to publish it. Of society, when he entered it, he was the delight and delighting spirit:—always welcome, always cheerful. He knew nothing there of politics or political differences.* In brief, and in conclusion, Wilkes was a highly educated and accomplished gentleman, who, once admitted into their presence, "won golden opinions" from all sorts of men,—from Johnson, as is known, and from a hundred others of fame and reputation. Even Gibbon, who met him at the regimental mess—then a young man whose conversation had too much of the flavour of his associates, "my lords" and the Medmenham brotherhood, to suit the better taste of the future philosopher and historian—even Gibbon has recorded that he "scarcely ever met with a better companion; he has inexhaustible spirits, infinite wit and humour, and a great deal of knowledge." Later in life his old political opponent, that accomplished "Scot," Lord Mansfield, said of him to Mr.

* Quote also what Sandwich said of him (Butler's Reminis. i. 76), and what Butler himself said. Quote Byron on Wilkes from Vision of Judgment, stanza 65—a just opinion and judgment.

Strahan, "Mr. Wilkes was the pleasantest companion, the politest gentleman, and the best scholar he ever knew."*

With the testimony of such men in his favour, we are content to leave him.

From *Notes and Queries* of July 4th, 1857, and following Numbers.

WILKES AND THE "ESSAY ON WOMAN."

The following is the account of this Essay and of the writer given by Earl Stanhope in his *History of England*, vol. v. p. 66:

"It appears *that Wilkes had several years before, and in some of his looser hours, composed a parody of Pope's 'Essay on Man.'* In this undertaking, which, *according to his own account (Examination of Michael Curry at the Bar of the House of Lords, Nov.* 15, 1763), *cost him a great deal of pains and time*, he was, it is said, assisted by Thomas Potter, second son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been secretary of Frederick Prince of Wales, and had since shown ability and gained office in the House of Commons, but was (as well became one of Wilkes's friends) of lax morals in his private life. The result of their joint authorship, however, *has little wit or talent* to make any amends for the blasphemy and lewdness with which it abounds. As the original had been inscribed by Pope to Lord Bolingbroke, *so was the parody by Wilkes to Lord Sandwich; thus it began, 'Awake, my Sandwich!' instead of 'Awake, my St. John!'* Thus also, in ridicule of Warburton's well-known Commentary, *some burlesque notes were appended in the name of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Gloucester.*

"*This worthless poem had remained in manuscript, and lain in Wilkes's desk*, until in the previous spring he had occasion to set up a press at his own house, and was tempted to print *fourteen copies* only as presents to his boon companions."

* For authority, see Memoir of Wilkes prefixed to Letter 4, vol. i. 163.

It is obvious, from the critical opinion here offered, and the positive assertion as to the inscription, that Lord Stanhope spoke, or believed that he spoke, after an examination of the work; the more certainly as *The Athenæum*, in its review, hinted a doubt on this subject, notwithstanding which the statement was repeated *verbatim* in the second edition. It struck me as strange—and I still think it strange—that Lord Stanhope was not startled to find that the parody to which he referred—a parody on Pope's *Essay on Man*, inscribed to *a man*—St. John, was an *Essay on Woman*, not inscribed to a *woman*, but to *Sandwich*. This indeed was only sufficient to raise a suspicion, for there may have been such blundering parodists—and I shall show that there were—but they were not the writers of the Essay for which Wilkes was prosecuted, and on which Lord Stanhope passed judgment, for what is inscribed to a woman, and begins "Awake, my Fanny." This fact was actually set forth in the indictment, which describes the work as a libel "entitled *An Essay on Woman*, and purporting to be *inscribed to Miss Fanny Murray*."

An anecdote often told by the great Lord Chancellor Hardwicke (*Life*, vol. iii. p. 159) may pleasantly illustrate who this Fanny was; and it is curious in itself, seeing the relationship of the parties. One day, soon after the Chancellor had purchased Wimpole, and when riding round the neighbourhood, he was so much struck with the taste and elegance of a house, that he asked permission to see the inside of it. The request was politely complied with, and the owner, who it subsequently appeared was *the brother of Lord Sandwich*, conducted him through the apartments, dwelling with especial emphasis on the merits of his pictures. The subject, I suppose, was *caviare* to the Chancellor; for at length Mr. Montagu said, pointing to "two female figures, beautifully painted, in all their native, naked charms," "These ladies you *must* certainly know, for they are most striking likenesses." The Chancellor again acknowledged his ignorance. "Why, where have you led your life, or what company have you kept?" said Mr. Montagu, "not to know *Fanny Murray* and Kitty Fisher." This was

the "Fanny" to whom the Essay, which Lord Stanhope *has not seen*, was inscribed.

I believed, and believe, that not more than a single copy of so much of the *Essay on Woman** as was printed at Wilkes's press is in existence; and as to the existence of that single copy I have great doubts. We know, *on* the oath of Curry the thief, that only twelve copies were printed for Wilkes, and a thirteenth surreptitiously by Curry for himself—Lord Stanhope says fourteen, a difference of no consequence, but I believe a mistake; that the work was never completed—that so far as printed every copy was kept under lock and key—that the few other pages submitted by Lord Sandwich to the House of Lords were a proof, or a revise with manuscript corrections, which another of the printers had stolen; and I believe that the copies in Wilkes's possession were subsequently destroyed. I have, however, been assured by a gentleman that he many years since saw a copy of the original edition. With all respect for my informant I doubt it. The only *proof* that I could make out was, that the copy he saw was printed in *red letters*, and so far answered the description given by Curry the thief.† But another description, by a contemporary, is somewhat more particular:

> "'Tis printed ——
> In letters red, on paper fine,
> *On copper curiously engraved*
> *The title of the work;*"

and so says the indictment, "a frontispiece or *sculpture* prefixed."

I thought it possible, however, that *the stolen proof*—or the stolen copy—might be in existence; but all I could discover from the indexes to the Journals of the House of Lords was, that the copy laid on the table by Lord Sandwich had been delivered to Webb, the solicitor to the Treasury, to enable him

* There is no copy of The Essay on Woman in the Brit. Mus., but there is a spurious work called "An Essay on Woman. A Poem, by J. W. Senator.

† "The Priest in Rhyme."

to carry on the prosecution—that it was returned—then re-delivered—and not returned. It is possible, therefore, that Webb, who was an antiquary—a curiosity collector—may have retained this unique copy, and it may have been sold with his collection, and be still in existence.

That other copies of the poem were at the time, or soon after, in existence, is beyond question; and the scoundrels who bribed the poor journeyman to betray and rob his employer, were very likely persons to take a copy before they delivered the original to Lord Sandwich; or copies may have been taken, as Wilkes said, after Sandwich, having blazoned forth his indignation, laid the poem on the table that the clerks and others of the House might take copies.

It is more to my purpose to show, what is equally indisputable, that there were *spurious copies soon after sold as genuine*—some with a few genuine passages, probably copied from the Bill of Indictment, worked into them, and others *without one genuine line*. Some of these are in our public libraries; but as they are more vile than the original, I need not specifically refer to them. Enough for me to show that it was one of these to which probably my informant referred, certainly one without a genuine line in it, which Lord Stanhope has mistaken for the original.

I will now proceed to proof; and for this proof I am indebted to "N. & Q." An intelligent correspondent referred, some time since (2nd S. iii. 308), to works in his possession printed in red letters, and mentioned incidentally the *Essay on Woman*. Under very proper conditions, I was permitted to see this unique volume;* and it turned out to be the very copy, or a copy of the very edition, seen and commented on by Lord Stanhope, inscribed to Lord Sandwich, and beginning, —"Awake, my Sandwich."

How, it may be asked, under the circumstances I have stated, can I be sure that this red-letter copy is not genuine? For many reasons. It does not even pretend to be genuine. Instead of being the work printed at Wilkes's press, and laid

* The Poem is divided into four books, and occupies 37 pages—to which is added 'The Maid's Prayer,' two pages more.

on the table of the House of Lords in 1763, it is declared on the title-page to be "Printed for George Richards, MDCCLXXII;" and it declares this *in type*, whereas the genuine title-page was "on copper curiously engraved." Again, there is *not one single note throughout*, whereas, as the Parliamentary History shows, and my Lord Stanhope admits, "burlesque notes were appended" to the genuine edition "in the name of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Gloucester." Farther and conclusive, the indictment sets forth copious extracts both from the poem and the notes, and *not one line of these numerous paragraphs* is to be found in the copy printed for George Richards and commented on by the historian.

I come now to the further statement of Lord Stanhope that Wilkes, "several years before [before 1763], and in some of his looser hours, *composed* a parody of Pope's *Essay on Man*," which, "*according to his own account*, had cost him a great deal of pains and time;" and that the "poem had remained in manuscript, and lain in Wilkes's desk, until in the previous spring [1763] . . . he was tempted to print fourteen copies only as presents to his boon companions."

For this circumstantial narrative I know not the authority. As, however, if I succeed in my general argument, and raise a doubt as to whether Wilkes was the writer of the poem, the whole will, of itself, vanish into thin air, or be weakened according to the force of that doubt—it will be enough, for the present, if I draw attention to the assertion that *Wilkes acknowledged himself* to be the writer; for the allegation as to "pains and time" means that or means nothing. Now, voluble as was the tongue, facile the pen of Wilkes, and constant his reference to the subject, I do not think that either word or letter of his can be produced to justify this statement. It is true that Wilkes often talked and wrote enigmatically,—it was in his nature not to deny anything when charged with it as criminal—all parties, indeed, talked enigmatically, for no one cared to fix the authorship on a dead man. It is true that Michael Curry, the compositor who stole the copy, and who subsequently declared on oath that he had received "instructions" from the Solicitor of the Treasury as to "what he should

say," did depose to that effect; and the question and answer will show how well all parties were "instructed;" for no man would have asked so absurd and irrelevant a question who did not foreknow the answer.

"Did Mr. Wilkes say anything to you about *what number of years* he was in composing the work?—He informed me that it took him a great deal of pains and time to compose it."

If we are to believe with unquestioning faith the deposition of this single government witness, what are we to say of all the patriots, as we call them, who were convicted on the evidence of *two* or more witnesses, and after a searching cross-examination? Yet here is one only—a servant who had avowedly robbed his master—a man with a handsome provision promised for life if he established the case, which was only to damage the moral character of the master he had robbed, not to hang him, about which the witness might have had some scruple—a thief not condemned because in law phrase taken with the mainour, but holding up the mainour as if it were a testimonial to his character—a witness deposing what he pleased to a confiding and rejoicing audience, and without fear of a cross-examination—yet the historian records *this deposition as if it were an acknowledgment of guilt by the accused!*

What authority there may be for the statement that the poem "had remained in manuscript and lain in Wilkes's desk until the previous spring," that is, until it was delivered to Curry to be printed, I cannot conjecture. The evidence leads me to a different conclusion. Of course it would greatly damage Wilkes if the government could create and circulate an opinion—which many of the ministers assumed and believed—which the king believed, and he we now know was the real prosecutor, and prosecuted against the judgment of George Grenville, then minister—that Wilkes was the author. The prosecuting attorney employed by the Solicitor of the Treasury had no doubt, and prepared his case accordingly. I have a copy of his bill before me, and it contains some curious items;

amongst others, for attending with copies of the depositions at Mr. Grenville's and at *St. James's*. But the following is more immediately to my purpose:

	£	s.	d.
"Nov. 4, 1763.—Attending at Mr. Webb's in Queen Street all day taking examination as to Mr. Wilkes being the *author*, printer, and publisher of the *Essay on Woman*	2	2	0
Paid coach hire for Mr. Kidgell, Mr. Fadan, and Curry, that day	0	7	6
Several attendances on Mr. Webb relating to this matter preparatory to the complaint intended in the House of Lords .	1	6	8
12th.—Attending all day at Mr. Webb's methodising the evidence and transcribing with my own hand a fair copy for Lord Sandwich, that the matter might be kept secret . . .	2	2	0
13th.—Attending Mr. Webb and the witnesses all day preparatory to the motions	2	2	0
14th.—Attending all this day on the same	2	2	0
15th.—Attending the House of Lords on the complaint made there against Mr. Wilkes	2	2	0"

After all this training and methodising—and the principal witness Curry "for several weeks lodged and boarded in Webb's house," and received instructions "what he should say"—it must be quite evident that Lord Sandwich knew what to ask, and the witness what to answer. There was evidently some skill required in asking questions about authorship, as probably Sandwich knew better than either the witness or the attorney—still it was an important point—it would barb the arrow—and therefore there was to be an examination as to handwriting. The handwriting of what? Of the poem? No. Of "four words"—corrections on the margin of a proof—and the handwriting of the copy *of the frontispiece* in which the name of Dr. Warburton is printed at length."

The *not* asking a pertinent question by so skilful a questioner of so willing and so well instructed a witness is, in itself, open to large inferences. The eager purpose of all parties was to create a belief that Wilkes was the author; and the witness Curry, who could and did depose as to the handwriting on the copy of the frontispiece, could with more certainty have deposed to the handwriting of what is technically called the "copy" of the poem. *The question was not asked*, and therefore the reasonable inference must be, either that the copy of the poem

delivered to Curry was not in manuscript, or that the manuscript was not in Wilkes's handwriting.

Sandwich, Le Despencer, and a very few peers knew the fact as to authorship; but the king, the majority of the peers, the ministers, and all persons down to the attorney who prepared the case, may have believed, and I think did believe, that Wilkes was the author; and in this faith the Lords resolved to pray his majesty to order the immediate prosecution of "the *author or authors:*" to which his majesty replied that he would "give immediate directions *accordingly.*"

It is another still more significant fact that after this formal declaration by the House of Peers, and formal promise by the king, Wilkes was *not prosecuted as the author*, but for having "*printed* and published, and caused to be printed and published:" and so far as I know, Wilkes not only never acknowledged himself to be the author, but though a man who would, and often did, take on himself any consequences if a threat were held out, he on important occasions drew a distinction between the author and what the law called the publisher—maintaining, however, that he was prosecuted for publishing what was never published, except by Sandwich in the House of Lords, and the government in the Courts of Law. Wilkes was long after emphatic on this point in his reply to George Grenville, who had, without, I suppose, considering the exact distinction, said that Wilkes had been convicted as *author*.

"'There is, Sir, in almost every part of your speech a rancour and malevolence against Mr. Wilkes, which has betrayed you into a variety of gross mistakes, and palpable falsehoods. . . . You say in page 8, that 'he (Mr. Wilkes) was tried and *convicted* for being the *author* and publisher of the three obscene and impious libels,' &c. You repeat the accusation, page 14 'with regard to the three obscene and impious libels, which were *written* by him.' I have examined your charge with an office copy of the second sentence passed on Mr. Wilkes, and I find it absolutely groundless. There is not a syllable of *author* or *authorship* in any part of it. The words are, 'being

convicted of certain trespasses, contempts, and grand misdemeanours, in *printing* and *publishing* an obscene and impious libel, entitled *An Essay on Woman*, and other impious libels in the information in that behalf specified, whereof he is impeached,' &c. I may now appeal to the impartial public, if truth is not here shamefully violated by you. Is this 'that justice which is due to every man, and which we ought to be more particularly careful to observe, in an instance where passion and prejudice may both concur in the violation of it'? page 8."—*Letter to G. Grenville*, 1769.

I shall conclude by adducing evidence, internal and external, tending to show that Wilkes was not the writer of the *Essay*.

Lord Stanhope says, that in the writing of the poem Wilkes was assisted by Thomas Potter. I, however, have little doubt, after examination, that the poem was written by one person, and that whoever wrote the poem wrote the notes. Potter, continues Lord Stanhope, was the second son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been secretary to the Prince of Wales; a man of ability, but of lax morals, "as well became one of Wilkes's friends." This is not fair. Potter, whatever his morals may have been, was the friend and associate of some of the highest, and some of the best, and most moral men in the kingdom:—Lord Chatham described him as "one of the best friends I have in the world." Potter was undoubtedly a man of great ability. His first speech in parliament is thus noticed by Lady Hervey: "Mr. Potter is a second Pitt I hear for fluency of words; he spoke well and bitterly."* But Potter not only spoke well, but wrote well—pamphlets and political squibs.

Like all the fashionable men of the day, Potter was a frequent visitor at Bath. He was intimate with Ralph Allen; indeed some of his letters are dated from Prior Park. This, of course, brought him into personal intercourse with Warburton, who married Allen's niece; and though both had probably sufficient self-control to associate with decent civility, it

* Potter wrote the Letter to a Right Hon. Author, 1757. See Calcraft.

was scarcely possible for two men more opposed in character to have been brought together under the same roof. Certainly, if we may believe contemporary publications and anecdotes, Potter not only disliked, but squibbed the solemn dictatorial assumption of Warburton * in flying paragraphs and epigrams; and Warburton even in the House of Lords, according to some reports I have read, hinted his suspicions as to Potter being the writer. Disraeli tells us (*Quarrels of Authors*, vol. i. p. 92), that it was to a like meeting at Allen's, and to the dogmatical presumption of Warburton, that we owe the *Canons of Criticism*. Is there any evidence to show that Wilkes was ever on a visit at Prior Park—was ever brought into personal communication with Warburton? If not, we find that the possible animus in Potter was wanting in Wilkes.†

Let us now look to the poem itself, which Lord Stanhope says, and says truly, was written "several years before" 1763. There is not much that can be brought to bear on the subject; and that little is indirect and inferential, but is worth something.

In the "Advertisement" prefixed there is an attempt to raise a laugh at Hogarth—at the "line of Mr. Hogarth's poor

* He squibbed him more and worse. See his epigram on Mrs. Warburton and her diamond crescent,—

"Behold the wife proclaim her elf a maid."
'Foundling Hospital of Wit.'—Almon, i. 10.

† According to popular scandal Potter intrigued with Mrs. Warburton. (See Watson's Life of Warburton, pp. 559, 560.) I did not choose to refer to this—but I find the story reproduced in Prior's Life of Malone (p. 445), and given on the authority of old Lord Hilsborough, who knew Warburton.

"Bish. W. being asked by a friend to what profession he meant to breed his son, who died young—*and many supposed him to be Mr. Potter's son*—said," &c.

The following anecdote (also, p. 445) may explain Potter's dislike:—

"When Bishop Hind once paid a visit to Bish. W., *Mrs. W.*, before the Bishop came down, said to Hind, 'I am glad you are come, my lord, to pour a little of your oil *into the Bishop's vinegar*.'" This also on authority of Lord Hilsborough. See also Watson's Life of Warburton.

Warburton was 47 when he married in 1745, and the only child was born eleven years after, in 1756.

Warburton was an admirer of Hogarth and his 'Analysis of Beauty.' See letter to Hogarth, dated 1753, in Watson's Life of Warb. 407.

ideas of beauty." The reader must not confuse this reference with the publication of the *Analysis* in 1753: for when Hogarth published his own portrait, he etched upon the palette a *winding line*, with this motto: "*Line of Beauty* and Grace:" and this print, according to Chalmers, was published in 1745. So Steevens (Nichols, vol. i.) tells us, "the leading idea had been hieroglyphically thrown out in his works in 1745," and been "*laughed at* long before the *Analysis* was published." The writer of this poem was certainly one of the laughers. Now Warburton was one of the admirers of Hogarth's "original and masterly thoughts on the great principles of his profession," and told him so in a letter, 1753, when he sent his subscription for two copies of the *Analysis*, which he says ought to be published as "a shame to that worthless crew professing *virtu* and connoisseurship, to whom all that grovel in the splendid poverty of wealth and taste are the miserable bubbles" (p. 417), and against Potter, Hogarth had some personal dislike, for, according to the biographers, it is Potter who figures in Hogarth's "Election," published in 1755.

Wilkes, in 1755, was the especial friend of Hogarth—actively kind towards him—admired and praised his genius; and even when they quarrelled (1762), their quarrel was political, not personal, and, as Wilkes said, "*for several years* they had lived on terms of friendship and intimacy." Hogarth (in 1762) as he admitted "to stop a gap" in his income, determined to turn his pencil to political uses; and the king's serjeant-painter resolved to attack those who were considered hostile to the king—Chatham and Temple. Wilkes, in a private and friendly letter, pointed out the folly of giving up "to party what was meant for mankind,"—of dipping his pencil "in the dirt of faction,"—warned him of the certain consequences, and told him that he never would take notice of "reflections on himself; but, when his friends were attacked, he found himself wounded in the most sensible part, and would, as well as he could, revenge their cause." Hogarth persevered; published his caricature, and Wilkes his comment and criticism. Even after this, Hogarth acknowledged that Wilkes had been his

"friend and flatterer," was a good-tempered fellow, but now "Pitt-bitten—Pitt-mad."*

Another circumstance, tending I think to strengthen this conjecture as to the date when the poem was written, is the inscription. Fanny Murray was a Bath beauty—the daughter of a musician † at Bath, who subsequently married a Mr. Ross, and died in 1770. Such beauties are but ephemeral; and this lady, according to incidental notices, must have been in her glory from before or about 1735 to 1745. She had been the mistress of the Hon. John Spencer—better known as "Jack Spencer;" and was afterwards the mistress of Beau Nash. Spencer died in 1746, and in 1746 Nash was seventy-one years of age. It must have been in 1740, or early in 1741, that Lord Hardwicke saw her picture at Mr. Montagu's in Cambridgeshire; for he bought Wimpole in 1740, and it is reasonably certain that Mr. Montagu would, soon after his residence, have shown so distinguished a man the neighbourly respect of a visit, and would, therefore, have been known to him after 1740 or 1741. Walpole mentions her in 1746. Walpole, then on a visit at Mistley, forwarded to Conway a copy of his verses called "The Beauties." Rigby, he says, has "a set of beauties of his own, who he swears are handsomer," and proposed to change the names; but allows them to remain in initials, because F. M., meant for Miss Fanny Macartney, may pass for his beauty, Fanny Murray.‡ I think, therefore, all cir-

* Hogarth said of W. in Nov. 1762—he is "a thoroughly good-humoured fellow only Pitt-bitten." See Gren. Corr. ii. 5. Wilkes quotes this rejoicingly, little suspecting that within a twelvemonth he would be literally and savagely Pitt-bitten.

† MUSGRAVE ADVERSARIA.—Fanny Murray, afterwards Mrs. Ross, was the daughter of — Rudman a musician at Bath. Having lost both father and mother at the age of twelve years, she commenced as retail merchant of nosegays and Bath rings at the rooms. In this situation she was first taken notice of by "Jack Spencer," as he was familiarly called, and he soon found means to seduce her innocence. Next Nash is said to have carried on an amorous correspondence with her then about the age of fourteen. She dressed equal to any woman at Bath. Her face was pleasing, her person was of the middle size inclined to be plump; but had delicacy enough in her shape to make it agreeable, and beauty enough to render her the grand object of the men's affections and of the women's envy. Musgrave's Obituary says died in 1770.—MS., Brit. Mus.

‡ Qy. The last mention in Chesterfield's letter to Dayrolles, July 31 (O. S.),

cumstances considered, that I cannot be far wrong if I assume that this lady had reached the culminating point as a celebrity in 1745–1746. Now if the poem was written in, or even about 1746, it was written when Wilkes was a boy of nineteen, studying with a tutor at Leyden, and winning golden opinions from all sorts of men, and even a Dedication from the learned and virtuous Andrew Baxter. Wilkes did not even return to England until 1749; and then with such a character, that it won the heart of Mrs. Mead, a rigid and formal Dissenter, as well as of her daughter, a lady of the mature age of thirty-two. Soon after his return, the unhappy marriage was brought about; and youth and mature age,—twenty-one and thirty-two,—were united. After the marriage, Wilkes and his wife resided with her mother, in summer at Aylesbury, and in winter at Red Lion Court, Smithfield, where their daughter was born in Aug., 1750. It was not till 1751 that Wilkes took the house in Great George Street, and set up for a man of fashion, and became the associate of Lord Sandwich, Sir F. Dashwood, and Mr. Potter, to the horror of his wife, who returned to her mother in Red Lion Court. Such men, says her apologist, "could not fail to shock any lady of sensibility and delicacy;" and of these Potter "was the worst, and indeed the ruin of Mr. Wilkes, who was not a bad man early or naturally. But Potter poisoned his morals."

Here, then, we have the youth pursuing his studies on the Continent up to 1749, and the young man married, and living soberly with his mother-in-law, up to 1751. In 1751, when between twenty-three and twenty-four, the parvenu had his head turned by king's ministers and high officials: and at the general election in 1754, Potter persuaded him —not much persuasion required—to contest Berwick, which he did unsuccessfully at a cost of 4000*l.* In June, 1757, when Pitt, then in the height of his popularity, was invited and agreed to offer himself for Bath, it was arranged that Potter,

1747—"I hope Sukey Young is well and kind. Fanny Murray was last night in the Park in perfect health, but in very close mourning—for some near relation, I presume, of the illustrious family of the Murrays."

just appointed one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, should succeed him at Okehampton, and Wilkes succeed Potter at Aylesbury. Potter arranged these political movements, and Wilkes paid for all, at a further cost of 7000*l.*

Churchill, from whom Wilkes had no secret, seems to confirm the conjecture that Potter was the writer.* His "Dedication" to great Gloster arises out of the bishop's denunciations in the House of Lords:—

> "When (to maintain God's honour, and his own),
> He called Blasphemers forth—methinks I now
> See stern rebuke enthroned on his brow,
> And arm'd with tenfold terrors—from his tongue,
> Where fiery zeal and Christian fury hung,
> Methinks I hear the deep-toned thunders roll,
> And chill with horror every sinner's soul,
> In vain they strive to fly—flight cannot save,
> And *Potter trembles even in his grave.*"

What is the meaning of this reference to Potter? Why should Potter tremble in his grave, at the bishop's denunciation, if Potter were not the writer?

Another contemporary, well informed as to all the undercurrents of literature, Capt. Thomson,† in his *Life of Paul Whitehead* (p. 32),—Whitehead, be it remembered, was secretary to the Medmenham Club—one of the select dozen for whose use it was believed the *Essay* was printed—distinctly states that the *Essay* was not Wilkes's "composition." I could produce endless evidence of a like character from contemporary publications: some even accuse Wilkes of affecting to be the writer, which it is well known he was not: and be it remembered, that whatever moral difference there

* Either Potter was celebrated and notorious for such works, or was the Essay on Woman referred to in the following, enclosed by Dr. Lort to the Bishop of Dromore (Percy). It is a *jeu d'esprit* from the *St. James's Chronicle.* Mrs. Cole [Mother Cole] to the B. of Landaff, "Mrs. Cole most earnestly recommends to the learned Prelate's attentive perusal the works of Archbishop Potter's son Tom, of chaste memory," &c. See Nichol's Illustrations, 7, 453.

† In 1766, and at the end of 'The Demirep,' Thomson himself announces 'Woman. A Poem.' See *Europ. Magazine*, May, 1786, p. 359. Doubts are expressed whether Thomson's poem was ever published, but qy. may it not have been the 'Essay on Woman' referred to?

might be, there was no legal difference, or difference in the legal consequences, between author and publisher, and, therefore, the several writers were all contending for, or asserting an abstract fact. Thus one of the satirical ephemera of the time * says Wilkes was sacrificed by Antinomious [Sandwich], "for having *in his possession*" the "*works of another person,*" which Antinomious himself had often read.

Again, in a paper subsequently republished by Almon in *Collection of "Letters, &c.," together with "Pieces of Wit," &c., by Mr. Wilkes and others,*—a work probably prepared under the direction of Wilkes, and which undoubtedly contained many papers written by Wilkes,—there is reference to a sermon (preached by Kidgell, the informer,) against blasphemy, and, as said, full of abuse against (Wilkes) "an oppressed man, condemning him unheard." The writer goes on to say:—

"But what a horrid aggravation must it be to the crimes of such a time-serving preacher, if *he knew* that the person he was for reward abusing, was *absolutely innocent of the blasphemy;* that the work referred to was *wrote by a son of the Church.*"

So in *A Letter to J. Kidgell* † (Williams, 1763), the writer says:—

"As to *the Author*, who one should understand is the execrable offender you mean, if the world is rightly informed concerning him, *he has been dead some years ago.* What *proper measures could* therefore *be* INFALLIBLY *taken for his* punishment? Was he to be raised from the dead?"

Again, in another letter to Kidgell,‡ the writer observes:—

"You call the *Essay on Woman* a libel, while you yourself, reverend Sir, have incurred the guilt of a malicious and infamous libel, by charging the writer [*writing*] of this work on *a man who did not write it* . . . What adds to your

* 'Life and Adventures of Sir Bartholomew Sapskull,' 1768, ii. 49.

† I have little doubt this letter was written by Wilkes.

‡ "Preacher of St. John's, Berkeley Square."

offence is, that *you know that this person was not the author,* and that this poem was written by a worthy son of a worthy Archbishop of Canterbury."

I shall now leave the question to the judgment of your readers.—D. [Mr. Dilke.]

"*Essay on Woman.*"—In the first paper I addressed to you on this subject (2nd S. iv. 1), I gave it as my opinion that not a single copy of the edition printed at Wilkes's press was in existence. At the same time I felt bound to add, I had been assured by a friend that he had, some years since, seen a copy of that edition; which, however, I doubted for reasons then given. My friend, zealous for the truth, immediately set himself to find out not only where he had seen it, but where it was now; and he succeeded in both inquiries. The copy to which he referred was part of Lot No. 8046 of Hibbert's books sold May, 1829. It was purchased by a gentleman who still possesses it, and who has obligingly favoured him with a tracing of the title-page. This title-page is in itself proof that it is *not* a genuine copy—it is *not* engraved—it has *not*, as declared in the indictment, "a sculpture" or vignette—and the name of Warburton is *not* "printed at length."

The Catalogue, as I am informed, described the work as "very rare (attributed to Cleland)." I may add that, in the same year, June 25, there was sold, in Wellington Street, the following:—

"Lot 219. The original MS. of the *Essay on Woman*, for printing which Wilkes was expelled the House of Commons; but the MS. is by Cleland, who was the real author. Two leaves of *The Woman of Pleasure*, also in the handwriting of Cleland."

I am in no way interested as to who was the author—my sole purpose was to show that all the evidence we have tends, at least, to prove that Wilkes was not. At the same time I admit that handwriting does not prove authorship; there were, I fear, many copies in different handwritings, and, I will add, many poems under the one title.—*Notes and Queries*, 2 S. v. 77.—D. [Mr. Dilke.]

GRENVILLE, &c.

From the *Athenæum*, Jan. 17, 1852.

The Grenville Papers: being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville Earl Temple, K.G., and the Right Hon. George Grenville, their friends and Contemporaries. Edited, with Notes, by W. J. Smith, Esq., formerly Librarian at Stowe. 2 vols. Murray.

THESE volumes are of a class and character always welcome: —no matter whether lively or dull, of greater or of less value,— they contain facts. It is quite true that the facts to be found in contemporary letters and memoirs are often distorted by prejudice or coloured by passion; but this is a known condition,—and we are therefore prepared to make those reasonable allowances in each case which must be made in all, and to submit questionable points to the test of like authorities.—The volumes contain the letters from and to Lord Temple and his brother George Grenville—with the private diaries of the latter—and extend from 1742 to the close of 1764. They are to be followed, as we understand the preface, by other volumes: —the whole extending over a period of thirty or more years. Such a work must be acceptable. It must throw light, more or less, on a hundred obscure points of interest; and especially on the last few glorious years of George the Second and the first ten inglorious years of George the Third,—with which, whether in the ministry or in the opposition, the names of Pitt, Temple, and Grenville are for ever associated.

The Grenvilles, as our readers will remember, were the children of Mr. Richard Grenville, of Wotton, by Hester Temple, sister and co-heir of Sir Richard Temple, Viscount

Cobham of Stowe. Their mother succeeded to the peerage by special remainder,—and was soon after advanced to the dignity of Countess Temple. Mr. Pitt married their only sister. Besides Lord Temple and Mr. George Grenville, there were three other brothers—James, Henry, and Thomas,—and if we mistake not they were all in Parliament. This was a formidable phalanx—in number, character, and ability—while in alliance; but, as with other and less holy alliances, self-interest and ambition often separated its members, and they were at times opposed—brothers and brothers-in-law—with all the bitterness of disappointed affection.

Richard Grenville, the eldest son, who succeeded to the title on the death of his mother in 1752, and is best remembered as Earl Temple, was in our opinion one of the most straightforward, honest, and honourable men of his age. But Mr. George Grenville is the favourite with most writers,—probably influenced by Burke's eulogium: and, judging by some casual paragraphs, we suspect that the editor of the work before us inclines towards the same opinion. They were both of "mark and likelihood." Lord Temple was a man of high spirit,—impetuous, generous, daring. We have a fine trait of his character when the party were driven from office in November, 1755:—

"*Earl Temple to Lady Hester Pitt.*

"*Nov.* 20, 1755.

"My dear Lady Hester,—I cannot defer till to-morrow morning making a request to you, upon the success of which I have so entirely set my heart, that I flatter myself you will not refuse it me. I must entreat you to make use of all your interest with Mr. Pitt to give his brother Temple leave to become his debtor for a thousand pounds a year 'till better times: Mr. P. will never have it in his power to confer so great an obligation upon, dear Lady Hester, your most truly affectionate brother,

"Temple."

Lord Temple was amongst the first who led an opposition on purely constitutional grounds. Before the reign of George the

Third it had been all faction,—for or against a minister—for or against a family—the house of Hanover or the house of Stuart. Temple was against arbitrary power, no matter whether exercised by one estate or by the other,—against all power other than the power and supremacy of law. Mr. Grenville was the reverse of his brother. Cool, deliberate, diligent, laborious—as Burke said, "he took public business not as a duty he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy." He had a great deal of that sort of knowledge "which passeth show"; and amidst the brilliant corruscations of Pitt, and Townshend, and Murray, and other splendid talkers or orators, he was as prosy, as dull, and as forcibly feeble as if he had been a member of parliament in the days of Queen Victoria. He is said to have had an intimate knowledge of what is called the law of parliament,—and there is no doubt that for a long period his hopes and his ambition were the Speaker's chair. But the accident and the necessities of the hour made him a leading minister; and by his subserviency, which did not in the end serve to attain its purpose—the issuing of General Warrants—Crown prosecutions against the press—and the attempt to tax America—he did as much mischief in some eighteen months as any minister of ability would have dared to risk in a whole life of power. He was a man of irreproachable moral character, and, as generally believed, of great personal integrity. That he was above personal corruption, we do not doubt; but it is equally beyond doubt that he loved office for its salary as well as for its labour,—and that he and his brother-in-law, Lord Egremont, did contrive during their short term of office to secure grants, places, reversions, even for their children of four and five years of age, to an extent quite incredible.—This was an error common enough in that day:—but nobly redeemed in this case by one of Mr. Grenville's sons in our time—the late Hon. Thomas Grenville,—who bequeathed his splendid library to the nation.

Both Lord Temple and his brother George—and, we may add, the Right Hon. Henry and the Right Hon. James—were in office with Mr. Pitt from 1756 to October, 1761. When Mr. Pitt and Temple threw up, Mr. George Grenville sepa-

rated from them, remained under Lord Bute, and was made Secretary of State. Hence the estrangement for a time from his brother, and for many years from Mr. Pitt. In the correspondence, therefore, and for an important period, we get an insight into the views, feelings, and opinions of both the great factions which then divided the country, and from Mr. George Grenville an elaborate defence of his conduct. In 1766 all the policy and relations of the family were again changed. Mr. Pitt then committed the great error of his life—accepted a peerage —"stumbled up stairs," as Chesterfield called it—which removed him from his old place of power, and shook the faith of the people,—accepted office, though Temple refused to join with him,—formed his famous marquetry ministry, black and white, good and bad, Whig and Tory,—was soon heartily ashamed of his associates,—saw his error, perceived how weak they were,—and to such a temper and temperament "to be weak is to be miserable,"—had fits of gout or of insanity, the coming volumes may determine which,—and withdrew altogether from the House, the Cabinet, and society, until he was enabled to back out:—when he at once joined Temple, George Grenville and the opposition, as fresh and vigorous as ever.*

It is obvious to a looker on, even from his own narrative, that Mr. Grenville was never considered as the efficient Secretary of State—as the controlling power;—and even when Lord Bute fled, frightened, he was admitted only as one of a triumvirate—appointed that they might neutralise each other, and leave the whole power in the hands of the King or of the favourite.

These volumes do not throw so much light as we had expected on the preliminary negotiations that led to the much discussed Peace of Fontainbleau. In our opinion the King personally and "the King's friends" were mainly instrumental in urging on that peace with indecent precipitation. The King had been brought up in strong opposition to what was considered the policy of his grandfather's government; and two or three broad general opposition principles had been

* Here follows a lengthy analysis of the first volume which it is unnecessary to reprint.—EDITOR.

deduced therefrom or perhaps from 'The Patriot King'* of Bolingbroke, and early impressed on his young mind. These were excellent in themselves, but his narrow and bigoted understanding could only misread or misinterpret them. Foremost amongst these plausibilities was, that he should reign over a united people, with a ministry formed on the broadest basis and selected from all parties,—not in the significant phrase of the new court, as his grandfather and great-grandfather had done, by factions, connexions and confederacies. This he assumed to mean that if the proposed policy were acted on, there could be no efficient opposition; and he should not be "controlled as his grandfather had been"—and as all constitutional monarchs must be. Therefore it was that, from the first, the most constitutional endeavour by constitutional means to regulate or direct public affairs against his wish, opinion, or prejudice, was called "force" to constrain and dictate to him. Another excellent State maxim of the Leicester House School was, England and English interests, as distinct from Continental wars, alliances, and subsidies. Few persons will now deny the wisdom of this policy; but it did happen that when George the Third ascended the throne we were in the thick of the fight—in the heat of the battle—bound by treaties — and reaping the glorious fruits of an energetic ministry in triumphs all over the world. The King could not comprehend that in national policy, time and circumstances are modifying influences. In the speech which he addressed to the ministers at their first meeting after the death of his grandfather, he spoke of the "bloody war"† in which we were

* This opinion I find strongly confirmed and so early as 1752, in a letter from Archbishop Herring to the Lord Chancellor.—"I know it goes to the heart of them [the old Whigs] that the education of the young Princes should be at all trusted to men who were brought up in the school of Bolingbroke, &c. &c. That a King of England *is a King of his people* not *of Whigs and Tories*. This is a noble principle, it must be owned, &c. &c., but, &c. only made the vehicle of Jacobitism," &c. &c.—Life of Hardwicke, ii. 473. See the same for like opinions. See also the opinions as to government of his father, the Prince of Wales, as set forth in 'History of Minority,' p. 38, note. See Byrom's Journal, ii. 492–3, where the Prince said "I shall be that Patriot King."

† See this fully confirmed in a letter *written at the moment* (Oct. 26, 1760) by Newcastle to Hardwicke.

engaged,—and it is generally understood that it was on direct remonstrance from Mr. Pitt that the phrase was modified. The King, indeed, from the outset was resolved on peace;* and he pined over national triumphs as so many stimulants to the people to persevere in war, and over every conquest as only foreshadowing additional disgrace in the surrender.†

The resolute determination with which the peace policy was pursued—the sacrifices at which the peace was obtained—led to a general and indignant outcry that the interests of the nation were betrayed and sold. We shall not enter into this question at present, further than to observe that it is not to be disposed of by confident assumptions after the cavalier fashion of Lord Brougham. We agree with his Lordship, that even if sold, the Duke of Bedford was no party to the sale; but when he proceeds to treat the charge against him as a "revolting absurdity," *because* an ambassador at Paris is "corresponding daily with the Cabinet in London," from which, therefore, he daily receives instructions, we must remind him that in 1762 there was a Cabinet rather in form than in fact—there was a ministry in form but a minister in fact,—in brief, that Lord Bute and the King were absolute. The Duke of Bedford, we believe, was selected and sent to Paris to negotiate the treaty because the peace was resolved on and agreed on—because his opinion was known to be in favour of peace, and had been consistently so, from the time when and before the negotiations were opened under Mr. Pitt in 1761. The Duke, no doubt, received his instructions formally through the proper office and officer, but strengthened by the King and Lord Bute,—to whom he appears to have considered himself especially responsible; and these private instructions jumped with his own

* Before the death of George II. an expedition against Belleisle had been resolved on. In the midst of the preparations George II. died suddenly. On the 28th Nov. Keppel announced to Mr. Pitt that the expedition was ready for sea, and shortly after the squadron dropped down to St. Helen's. On the 11th Dec. Mr. Pitt officially informed the Commodore "that &c. &c., that you do immediately *disembark* all the troops."—'Life of Viscount Keppel,' i. 294.

† The *Briton*—the *Bute Briton*—as quoted in the *North Briton*, No. 9, said, "among the other *evil consequences* of the wars might I reckon our extraordinary success"—"obstacles to a peace."—See *North Briton*.

humour—peace at any price. How resolutely this was determined on, we learn from an incidental paragraph in one of Lord Bute's letters to Mr. Grenville, written in July. A despatch intended to be sent to Sir Andrew Mitchell, resident at the Court of Prussia, had been submitted to Lord Bute, of which his Lordship approves—but—

"he would have wished (according to what he took the liberty of hinting to him the other day) that Mitchell had been instructed to insinuate to His Prussian Majesty that our Peace must not be obstructed by any demur on his side."

Lord Brougham may learn what were the facts about the "daily" correspondence between the responsible ministers and the ambassador from the confidential letters which passed between the Secretaries of State:—he may guess at the controlling influence exercised by the one over the other,—and learn that "*two or three* points" might be "given up" without even communicating with the responsible minister.—

"*The Earl of Egremont to Mr. Grenville.*

"SUNDAY AFTERNOON, *September* 26, 1762.

"Dear Sir,—I received yours, by Jackson, this morning; very sorry to draw you from your retreat into so horrid a scene as I fear you will find here. I conclude you lie at Missenden to-night and therefore send you the Duke of Bedford's despatches, that you may be fully informed before you come to town: you will see that that headstrong silly wretch has already given up two or three points in his conversation with Choiseul, and that his design was to have signed without any communication here. I have been with Lord Bute this morning, and had much talk with him, some I did not like, but I have not given way in anything; nor shall in the attack I expect from the superior, who I am to see after the Drawing-room. * * "EGREMONT."

Walpole, always better informed than Whig or Tory officials

and historians are willing to admit, says—"Bad as the peace proved, it was near being concluded on terms still more disadvantageous; for France receiving earlier intelligence than we did of the capture of the Havannah, had near prevailed on the Duke of Bedford to sign the treaty; but Aldworth [Neville], his secretary, had the prudence or foresight to prevent that precipitate step." Sir Denis Le Marchant says that this statement rests on Walpole's unsupported testimony; and he endeavours to show by reference to dates and facts that the story is very improbable, and that "the Duke never pretended to sign *against the King's orders*." Why, Walpole makes no such statement: to sign *without* orders, and to sign *against* orders, are surely very different things. Neither does it follow, as we have had occasion to observe before, that in 1762 "the King's orders" were the orders of the Ministry; and we have proof in Lord Egremont's letter, just quoted, that the Duke was not afraid to sign not only without instructions from the Secretary of State, but without informing the latter of his intentions. There is, indeed, a letter in this collection, without date, from Mr. Neville, Under Secretary of State, but at that time employed at Paris in carrying on the negotiations, and whose zeal and ability the Duke highly commended, to which we think the Editor has, conjecturally, affixed a wrong one, and which letter, we suspect, refers to the very fact alluded to by Walpole.—

"*The Earl of Egremont to Mr. Grenville.*

"3 quarters past 3.

"Dear Sir,—I have this moment received a despatch from Paris, and in it a most extraordinary and alarming secret letter from Mr. Neville. I have sent the whole to the King. Pray let me have a quarter of an hour with you this evening. I am ever, &c. "E."

As further specimens of Lord Brougham's daily despatches, and of the controlling influences of the Secretaries of State, we may add the following short notes.—

"*The Earl of Egremont to Mr. Grenville.*

"SATURDAY MORNING (*February* 12, 1763).

"DEAR SIR,—Perhaps the Duc de Nivernois has sent you word that the Treaty was to be signed as yesterday; if not, I would not leave you a moment ignorant of the news after I had it. Ever yours most faithfully, EGREMONT.

"*What think you of the D. of B.* [*Duke of Bedford*], *who lets the King's Ministers be informed by the French Ambassador of the appointment to sign the Treaty?*"

"*The Earl of Egremont to Mr. Grenville.*

"WEDNESDAY EVENING, 7 o'clock (*March* 2, 1763).

"DEAR SIR,—*I send you a more extraordinary letter than has yet come from that extraordinary personage His Majesty's Ambassador in France;* pray return it when you have read it, because I want to get it copied for answering, before it circulates any farther. Ever yours, &c. EGREMONT."

If it were all such a matter of course affair—all smooth sailing and agreement—as we are told, why do the Secretaries so heartily abuse the Duke of Bedford?—why was Lord Egremont so indignant that he did not speak to Lord Bute for a fortnight together?—why did Mr. Grenville write thus in his private Diary?—

"During the summer, when the negotiation for the Peace was set on foot, Mr. Grenville had many struggles with Lord Bute upon the terms, which he was desirous to keep up higher than Lord Bute (who feared the negotiation might break off) could be brought to consent to. Mr. Grenville represented strongly against the giving up Guadaloupe and Santa Lucia, wanted to have an equivalent asked for Guadaloupe, and insisted and prevailed to have a compensation for the Havannah. Guadaloupe was given up at an Extraordinary Council called when Mr. Grenville was ill in bed, and not able to attend it."

We learn further from this Correspondence that in the beginning of October, the Earl of Egremont and Mr. Grenville

were so little satisfied with the conduct of the Duke that they had resolved to disavow the preliminaries!—although by the advice of Lord Mansfield they agreed to write at first gently, and prepare him "by degrees," "and make him, if possible, feel the mortification of the total disavowal less sharply." Forthwith Lord Bute informed his "dear George" that some "new arrangements" were necessary "to carry through the King's measures;" that he must remove to the Admiralty; and that it was proposed—he might have said agreed—that Mr. Fox should take the lead in the House of Commons.

Mr. Fox's accession was a matter of direct bargain: he undertook—in the phrase which happens to be current at this hour—as "piecework," to justify the peace, and carry it triumphantly through the House of Commons, leaving his reward—a peerage—to the conclusion of the job. The negotiation was carried on through Lord Shelburne, and gave rise to an amusing scene, well described by Lord Mahon. Lord Bute had understood that Mr. Fox on receiving the peerage was to resign the lucrative office of Paymaster of the Forces. Mr. Fox, however, maintained that the peerage was the reward for carrying through the peace. Both parties now appealed to Lord Shelburne. Lord Shelburne, much embarrassed, was obliged to own that he had in some degree extenuated or exaggerated the terms to each, from his anxiety to secure, at all events, the support of Mr. Fox, which he thought at that period essential to the government. These misrepresentations Lord Bute, now forgiving, called "a pious fraud." "I can see the fraud plain enough," said Fox; "but where is the piety?" Mr. Fox, however, was resolute,—got his peerage, and kept his place.

If the peace was such a blessing, and gave such general satisfaction, how is it that the Ministers would not defend it?—that the most disreputable man of his age was specifically bribed to do the specific job? Where was the necessity for such enormous bribery, to induce the House of Commons to accept the preliminaries that we read of it with amazement, and grow incredulous from its magnitude?—and yet it is to be proved on better historical evidence than nine-tenths of

historical facts. We are assured that the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Martin, paid in this way 25,000*l.* in one morning.* Yet, Mr. Martin was not the only, nor perhaps the principal agent. Mr. Ross Mackay, private secretary to Lord Bute, and afterwards Treasurer to the Ordnance, acknowledged that with his own hand he "secured above one hundred and twenty votes on that vital question:"—that he paid forty members a thousand pounds each, and eighty other members five hundred pounds each; and he excused this on the ground that "nothing else could have surmounted the difficulty." A "difficulty"? Why, we are now told that the most "eminent authorities" approved of this peace; that—in this we agree—"the King was beyond measure pleased with it;" and, which we cannot deny, it was approved by the votes of the House of Commons, 319 to 65:—a fact on which Walpole observes that had the names as well as the numbers been published, the country would have known "the names of the sixty-five who were not bribed." †—We are told, too, by Lord Brougham that the peace was conformable to the treaty begun by Mr. Pitt in 1761. If so, why was it not concluded by Mr. Pitt in 1761? He tells us further that "the islands of Guadaloupe and St. Lucia had been offered by him [Mr. Pitt] and Canada had been offered by France. These were the main body of the cessions on either side." Does Lord Brougham forget that Martinique and the Havannah, surrendered by Lord Bute, were actually captured *after* Pitt's negociations in 1761! and were such conquests *nothing* when thrown into the scale of concession? But, passing these over for the occasion, how is Lord Brougham's statement to be reconciled with Mr. Pitt's instructions that "the cession" of St. Lucia is not even to be treated about—is not "admissible"? Was Goree, without which it was then believed that Senegal could not be held, and which had been ceded to Mr. Pitt and was yielded by Bute, not worth mention? Was liberty to fish in the St. Lawrence and to dry

* Asserted at the time in History of Minority, p. 83.

† The corruption did not end here. "Bute and Fox," writes Walpole to Montague, "have paid their bravoes magnificently: no less than fifty-two thousand pounds a year are granted in reversion."

fish at Newfoundland nothing? If so, Mr. Pitt and the politicians of his day and long after made an astounding noise about nothing,—which they called a nursery for seamen. In 1761 Mr. Pitt told the King—and that perhaps was his fatal error—"that if he were even capable of signing a treaty" which did not secure to England "the exclusive fishery of Newfoundland," he should be sorry he had ever got again the use of his right hand. Mr. Pitt, we believe, was so strongly opposed by Lord Bute and the peace party, backed by the King, that for a moment he faltered, consented to modify his opinions, and yield to the majority;* but he soon repented, and declared that "he would not remain responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide," and resigned. This declaration is generally supposed to apply exclusively to the refusal to declare war against Spain; but Mr. Pitt knew that the refusal was but one evidence of the court policy; and the resolutions and instructions of the Common Council to the city representatives show clearly what he and they thought that policy foreshadowed—"oppose all attempts for giving up such places as may tend to lessen our present security or, by restoring the naval power of France, render us subject to fresh hostilities." When the preliminaries of Bute's peace were brought under the consideration of the House, Mr. Pitt rose from a sick bed and went down to the House swathed in flannels, "suffering," as he said, "under the most excruciating torture" and at "the hazard of his life," that he might "raise up his voice, his hand, his arm against the preliminary articles of a treaty that obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies." Mr. Pitt, we know, was a consummate actor; but it is impossible to believe that this was all acting.

* This is in exact agreement with the report of Lord Hardwicke to his son. "The great points, liberty to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and an *abri*. Many speeches—*at last, both* agreed to by *all*. Those who had the most violently opposed, professing to acquiesce in the *opinions of others*, for the sake of preserving unanimity in their council."—Hardwicke, iii. 248. So too the statement in *North Briton*, No. 28.

The best account of the celebrated treaty with Mr. Pitt in August, 1763, is given in this work by Mr. Smith, the editor; —who has been enabled from Mr. Grenville's Diary to throw some light on the heretofore inexplicable change which took place in the King's opinions and conduct between the first and second interviews. From the latter Mr. Pitt came away all amazement, and declared that if examined on oath he could not say why a negotiation which opened and proceeded so satisfactorily had been so suddenly broken off.

* * * *

It appears that in the interval between Mr. Pitt's first and second interview, Lord Bute had been frightened by his interested subordinates, and he had frightened the King. All parties, however, were so deep in the negotiation that more duplicity than usual was required to extricate them; and it must be admitted that they played their parts to admiration. It is amusing after this scene to find the editor expressing fears lest we should do injustice to the character of George the Third by the supposition that "he could or would endeavour to use so much dissimulation as would deceive the profound sagacity and experience of Mr. Pitt." We are sorry to say, that every authentic revelation of the period tends to prove that the young King "could and would," if it were to serve a purpose, have deceived the profoundest sagacity of the wisest minister or man of his time.

* * * *

From the *Athenæum*, January 24, 1852.

Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham and his Contemporaries. With Original Letters and Documents now first published. By George Thomas Earl of Albemarle. 2 vols. Bentley.

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE will, it is generally believed, be the marking year of the nineteenth century; yet we must admit that, in our own narrow circle, eighteen hundred and fifty-two opens with extraordinary promise. The unlock-

ing of the muniment chests at Wotton and at Stowe was, in a literary and historical point of view, an important event; yet, before January has closed, we have 'Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham,' illustrated with original letters and papers, not only from the archives of the Fitzwilliam family, but from those of the Albemarle, Hardwicke, Richmond, and of Mr. Lee, attorney-general to the Rockingham administration. Here are treasures,—long buried secrets, out of which history may be written. Heretofore we have all been, more or less, groping in the dark, or led by blind guides, and often astray by false lights. Now, we have such a mass of authentic information that no careful writer can wander very far from the truth. We have not only Walpole's contemporary histories, but his voluminous letters,—the Waldegrave, Dodington, Barrington, Lyttelton, and other memoirs,—the letters and correspondence of Chesterfield, Hardwicke, Chatham, Bedford, Rockingham, Temple, Grenville, Mitchell, Burke,—minor contributions from Hume, Cumberland, Glover, Gibbon, Wraxall, and numbers numberless,—the historians Mohun, Adolphus, Belsham,—to say nothing of endless papers and volumes which touch only incidentally on political subjects, but often serve as guides to help us through obscurities and doubts—and we may add Memoirs like those before us, which—without reference to the important documents that they contain—are written with an earnest endeavour to discover and develope the truth. We often differ from Lord Albemarle in his estimate both of men and of events, but never without the respect which is due to conscientious opinion. He appears to us at times as if his mind were preoccupied with family traditions, and his heart too full of traditional sympathies and feelings;—he looks on the men of the age with the eyes of the conqueror of the Havannah, the petted and patronised of the Whig hero of Culloden,—and sometimes, from his position, overlooks men who were not without influence though their names may not be recorded in the court register. Occasionally, too, he takes the character of these on trust and from the popular reports of the day. To others, however, the marking men of the age, he has done justice; and his short memoirs are often vigorous, clear,

and truthful. The young King figures here to the life:—at least we must think so, for the figure here drawn confirms what we reluctantly said of him in our notice of the 'Grenville Papers,'—though his Lordship's portrait has even stronger shadows, which, we regret to say, are justified by the additional evidence.

* * * *

Most persons are now agreed, and Lord Albemarle is not likely to differ from this judgment, that Admiral Byng was judicially murdered. It is very doubtful—if, indeed, there be a doubt—whether the Court were justified in finding him guilty at all,—but at any rate it distinctly acquitted him of the charge of cowardice, and formally protested against the severity of the Articles of War under which the members had felt bound to find him guilty, and "for *their own consciences' sake*, as well as in justice to the prisoner," they recommended him to mercy. If we mistake not, a majority of the members of the Court went so far as to petition the King in his favour. Mr. Pitt, then minister, declared publicly in the House of Commons that he was for mercy; he "moved the King," or entreated the King, to extend mercy to the prisoner, but "was cut short" and silenced. The King was resolved that he should be put to death. Lord Temple, however, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty, and by whom probably Byng had been appointed to the command, would not be cut short,—when pleading for the life of an innocent man he would not be silenced. He told His Majesty that all men were liable to errors in judgment, and, in the words of Walpole, "sketched out some parallel between the monarch himself and the admiral, in which the advantage did not lie on the side of the Battle of Oudenarde." This was the occasion on which he forgot or disregarded the "Privy Seal." So much the more to his honour, we say. Had many of his contemporaries been as oblivious, the nation would have been saved from half the disgraces with which the new reign opened.

Though from the first, as we have shown in our columns in our second notice of the Grenville Papers, George the Third had resolved on peace, and though Bute rejoiced to

get rid of Mr. Pitt, and thus, as he hoped, prevent a war with Spain,—he could defer that war only till the proper and the better time was past. What a policy this nation was guided by may be inferred from a few lines in one of Newcastle's letters.—

"Every friend I have dings it in my ear, that the whole load of our miserable situation will be laid upon me. My Lord Bute complains that I am laying it all upon him; as long as he is the *sole dictator*, there it ought to lie."

The dictator, however, was no sooner forced to declare war against Spain than he secretly opened negotiations for peace with France. The Sardinian ambassador was the agent employed! and his services were rewarded—with what else we know not,—but with a pension of a thousand a-year on the Irish establishment, granted to him under another name.*

Here, then, are the negotiations which ended in the immaculate Peace of Fontainebleau, carried on, in secret, by the intriguing ambassador of a petty State who had acquired "a complete ascendancy" over Lord Bute—or rather who was the creature of Lord Bute,—through another foreign ambassador at Paris, who was the warm friend of the French minister:—yet, we have been told by Lord Brougham, as pointed out at length in the article already referred to that the idea of bribery on either side is a "revolting absurdity,"—because John, Duke of Bedford, was no party to it.† Why, the original charge never touched him;—on the contrary, it was stated that the bribery preceded the public negotiations,—that the preliminaries had been agreed on before the Duke of Bedford was sent over,—he being selected because it was known that he had

* A £1000 a year for thirty-one years under the name of G. Charles, and in 1769 a newspaper paragraph says "his son has sold for £16,000."—*Kent Post*, 1769, p. 476.

† Musgrave's words are—My informant told me that he remembered to have heard, a little *before* the Duke of Bedford's negotiation, that a sum of money, &c., "a *month or two* before the Duke's arrival here is divided between three persons," Lord Bute, Lord Holland, and a 'lady.' "the mistress of a man of great quality" —subsequently he said he never heard the name of the Princess Dowager of Wales mentioned or suspected when in Paris. See *London Magazine*, i. 332, or better, Parliamentary History.

long been earnestly, anxiously, and consistently in favour of peace,—so much so that he was not scrupulous as to the exact terms. Difficulties and delays, it is true, arose because time brought news of new triumphs and conquest, and the ostensible ministers insisted on compensation for these. Compensation, however, was never obtained; and when the secretaries resolved to repudiate the preliminaries which had been agreed on without their concurrence or approval—Mr. Grenville was superseded and shelved in another department.

We shall have occasion again to refer to these Memoirs:—but when, must depend on the publisher,—as we have received only the first volume, and that not complete.

From the *Athenæum*, February 4, 1852.

Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham and his Contemporaries. With Original Letters and Documents now first published. By George Thomas Earl of Albemarle. 2 vols. Bentley.

We have received, somewhat unexpectedly, a complete copy of this work:—and we regret to find in the second volume such manifest traces of its having been hurried to or through the press. As a consequence, the arrangement is confused and perplexing. An account of Mr. Lee, and the letters addressed to him from 1774 to 1793, are thrust into the middle of the narrative of events of 1769,—letters of 1773 follow letters of 1778,—and other like interruptions occur. There may be a meaning in this—order in this apparent disorder; but it is fair to assume that what is not intelligible to one reader will not be clear to others.

We had occasion lately to notice the "thorough clearing," as the courtiers called it, made by Lord Bute and his successor of those, even the most humble, who had been appointed by the old Whig ministers under George the Second. "It is

believed and given out," says Lady Temple, 17th of December, 1762, in a letter to her husband, "that even to a hundredth cousin of those who have not behaved well are to march out of the most trifling places." The extent of this pitiful persecution is alluded to in a letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Hardwicke.

"I send your Lordship the most cruel and inhuman list that was ever seen, not only in a free country, nor even in any civilized nation. This list, as I understand, was sent to the Custom House on Saturday last, and yet, cruel as it is, we are told it is only their *first fire*, and that we are to have a *second;* and what favours that opinion is, that they seem hitherto to have gone through only the Port of London, and the poor unhappy county of Sussex. Their brutality and inhumanity may have satisfied, in some measure, their revenge. * * There is not one single man turned out against whom the slightest complaint can be made in the execution of their office. Most of them were excellent officers."

The Duke of Devonshire, in reference to this subject and to the services of the old Whig minister, observes:—

"I am pleased with a *bon-mot* that I am told is in one of the public papers (for I never read them),—viz., that the Ministers have turned out everybody your Grace helped to bring in, except the King."*

It was generally understood that this "thorough clearing" policy, though approved of by Lord Bute, was suggested by Mr. Fox. If so, though we do not remember to have seen the fact before referred to, the "chicken came home to roost." Fox quarrelled with his old colleague, Calcraft,—who, as we have been told, "only determined to be a patriot when he could not be a peer." But Calcraft gave a different version of the story. "It was," he said, "because he was

* The Duke's letter is dated Bath, 29th Dec.—(Mem. of Rockingham, i. 155). The bon-mot is in the *North Briton*, No. 30, Dec. 26th, "it is generally believed, that every person *brought* in by the Duke of Newcastle, is now, by the present Minister, to be *turned out*—except the King."

called on to give an opinion where another's credit was at stake," and, "I gave one which my heart knew was just, and for this he [Fox] quarrelled with me. There must be a line which no honest man can exceed." When some one spoke of a thing as "*infra dig.*,"—"that," said Hood, "depends on where you put your *dig*;"—but we cannot even imagine where a line could have been drawn that was impassable either to Calcraft or to Fox. The truth, we suspect, was, that Calcraft being by this time half as rich as Fox himself, both having for years "rioted" in "the plunder of the army" and many other "plunderings," and being refused a peerage, set up a conscience! This was an impertinence not to be forgiven,—and he was, as he said, "turned out of his only place;" and not content with this, the King directed Lord Tyrawley to take from him some contract. Calcraft's answer was brief and bitter.

"Believe me, my dear Lord, I submit with cheerfulness and duty to His Majesty's pleasure, which cannot abate my respect; *nor does the loss of the employment the least affect me. The contract Mr. Fox and his family had the profit of, so to me 'tis no loss.*"

Here then is the Paymaster of the Forces, one of the most lucrative places under the Crown in those lucrative and profligate times, enjoying the benefit of a contract taken in the name of another, and most probably, as all the parties were connected with the army, a contract entered into with the said Paymaster as the representative of the Crown! This was the Mr. Fox specially retained to defend the Peace, and rewarded, according to agreement, with a peerage; the same Mr. Fox who was one of the three persons named as taking bribes for the pre-arrangements which brought about that Peace,—a report which we are told to believe is a "revolting absurdity." It was after these "clearings," and Lord Bute's withdrawal from personal risks and consequences, that the high prerogative proceedings began with the issue of general warrants.

We lately gave it as our opinion that the editor of the 'Grenville Papers' was in error when he stated that the negotiations with Mr. Pitt were opened by Calcraft's letter of the

10th of August. We here find something like proof that a treaty was begun so early as the 30th of June.—

"Mr. Pitt mentioned the proposals made to him by Lord Bute much in the same way that he had done to the Attorney-General."

This, we have little doubt, was one of those side whisperings which at that time passed for refined policy, and were employed to carry distrust among and weaken the opposition. Events, however—the King's personal hatred of Mr. Grenville, and the death of Lord Egremont—brought matters to issue. Neither Mr. Grenville nor any of the ministers appeared to have heard of this negotiation,—we find no trace of it in either the letters or journals. It appears to have been in July that the King first intimated to them his intention of "strengthening his government," and on the 19th of August that of "changing his government."

In these volumes we have the fullest account yet given, or ever likely to be given, of the negotiations with Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, Lord Rockingham, and others, in April and May, 1765, which ended in nothing but increased dislike and ill will between the King and his ministers, and serious remonstrances, if not personal affronts, to the King—Mr. Grenville or the Duke of Bedford, as asserted and denied, charging him—and very justly in our opinion—with the direct violation of his pledged word. The account of the negotiations here first published is from a manuscript statement drawn up by the Duke of Cumberland himself.—

* * * *

It is impossible to read this narrative without noticing the angry feeling of the writer against Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, and yet, it appears to us, even on his own report, that they acted throughout fairly and honourably. The Duke was evidently shocked at the idea of "negociation," and especially "with the King;" yet surely while the mere forms of a constitutional monarchy existed, it was their duty to understand, and to make understood, the principles on which the Govern-

ment was to be carried on, before they consented to accept office and its responsibilities. The verbosity and pomposity of which the Duke complains were probably forms of respect somewhat ostentatiously put forth, to make palatable their determination that change should be not only a declared and admitted condition, but made manifest by something done "parliamentary."

But, however much the Duke was angered with Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, the King was still more so with Mr. Grenville; and within two days the Earl of Northumberland came post from Richmond to summon the Duke.—

* * * *

The Duke was not successful—Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple remained firm and decided. On this Lord Albemarle observes that—

"If Pitt had been guided by his political principles, he would at once have coalesced with Lord Rockingham and his friends. But influenced by Temple (who wished 'the brothers,' as they were called, should form a Government of themselves) he declined."

—We doubt the argument, and we doubt the fact on which it rests. Mr. Pitt, in this instance, *was* guided by political principles and no other—whether his own or Lord Temple's, is not the question. So far as appears, there was not a single stipulation or condition except as to principles; and if Lord Rockingham was prepared to enter office without conditions, as might be inferred from the Duke's communication and Lord Albemarle's comment—and as, we fear, he did subsequently—then Mr. Pitt would have been right had he refused to coalesce with him. But why offer to coalesce when the preliminary conditions on the acceptance of which only they would consent to accept office, were refused? As to Lord Temple's obstruction because he wished "the brothers"—that is, Pitt, Temple, and Grenville—to form a government of themselves:—why, the sole purpose of all these treaties, negotiations, solicitations and beseechings to any and every body to accept office, was expressly to get rid of Mr. Grenville. As Lord Bute's brother

said in a letter to Mr. Mitchell,—"His Majesty, offended in the highest degree with the insolence offered him by his present ministers, would have put any mortal in their places that could have carried on business." The negotiations, however, all failed, but not through lack of zeal in the negotiator, the Duke of Cumberland; for as Mr. Mackenzie further observes, "there is no animal on the face of the earth that the Duke has a more thorough contempt for, or a greater aversion to, than Grenville." How under these circumstances could Lord Temple hope to get into office by stipulating that Mr. Grenville should remain? The King did not like Mr. Pitt—disliked Lord Temple:—the new ministry therefore which it is here assumed that Lord Temple contemplated would have been three to one more hateful to him than the existing ministry. Further, has Lord Albemarle forgotten that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple had been from the first day of his appointment in angry opposition to Mr. Grenville's ministry—that Mr. Pitt refused to be reconciled to Mr. Grenville even after he had been forced from office—that he opened his attack on the Rockingham ministry with a contemptuous disparagement of their predecessors, and of Mr. Grenville in particular—and that no personal intercourse existed between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grenville for years after? Lord Temple, we incline to believe, was in a different position. We have a suspicion—no more—which the future volumes of the 'Grenville Papers' may confirm or refute—that Lord Temple's objections to Lord Bute and his secret irresponsible power were so well known, that when the ministry came at last into direct collision with Lord Bute, communications passed directly or circuitously between the brothers, and Lord Temple advised Mr. Grenville to be firm and not to shrink from fear of consequences. Mr. Grenville and the Duke of Bedford were firm; and when the consequences became manifest and treaties were opened for a new ministry, Lord Temple would neither take, nor permit to be taken, advantage of conduct which he either advised or approved, and was "verbose and pompous" and intractable. The King therefore was compelled once again to send for Mr. Grenville and the Duke of Bedford; and he found them more resolute than ever—resolved at once and

openly to put down Lord Bute.* They required the King's positive promise that he would never again consult Lord Bute —that Bute's friends and "the King's friends" should retire from Court—and that the King should, as an open and manifest sign to all, turn out Lord Bute's brother, the Hon. J. S. Mackenzie, from the office of Lord Privy Seal of Scotland:— which he did, and never forgave them for compelling him to do it. This, we repeat, is but conjecture founded on insufficient evidence; but as to Lord Temple objecting on the ground assigned by Lord Albemarle, he, in a subsequent treaty, two years later, offered "to sacrifice his brother"—that is, to accept office without him—to please Mr. Pitt, if other questions and differences could be arranged.

Though direct hostilities between the King and his ministers were now of necessity suspended, it was but an armed truce; and as must have been foreseen, negotiations were soon renewed, —when the Rockingham party accepted and came into office. The sketches here given of the character of General Conway, to whom was assigned the leadership in the House of Commons —of Dowdeswell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and of Lord John Cavendish—though brief, are just. Still better is a sketch of one who declined to join that ministry,—a remarkable man in every way; sound-hearted, clear-headed, and free from all sinister purposes or influences.—

* * * *

The reign of the Rockinghams was soon over. Burke said that they had no connexion, no correspondence of counsels with Lord Bute. Whether this fact tended to shorten their tenure of office, is still a discussed question; it is certain, as Burke also said, that they were traversed by an opposition of placemen and pensioners.† We do not think the non-interference of Lord Bute is quite so clearly established, as it is now the fashion to assume. The assertion of his son may have been true to the letter, and yet very significant advice may

* See Hardwick's Diary, Life, iii. 446–7.

† It might be worth while to collect evidence on this point. See opinion of Halifax and Egremont after his professed retirement as minister.—Life of Hardwicke, iii. 352.

have reached His Majesty from Lord Bute. Mr. Jenkinson, Lord Bute's former secretary, was always within ear-shot. Certainly those most likely to be well informed—Rockingham, Hardwicke, Richmond, Temple, Grenville, and others, were of opinion that Lord Bute did influence His Majesty, and did aid in overthrowing the Rockingham party and bringing Mr. Pitt into office. Be this as it may, we cannot doubt that before Lord Temple was even sent for, the conditions were settled with Mr. Pitt. The Rockingham Manifesto put forth by Burke says so, and we believe it. Lord Temple stuck to his principles, as Mr. Pitt foreknew he would. Mr. Pitt was weary of principles which had more than once kept him out of office: he had long been temporising, playing a part, and waiting on events. He longed for power, and was resolved to possess it; he had consented to accept it on terms which he knew Lord Temple would reject,—and therefore in the interviews with him, which he could not with common decency avoid, he assumed a tone of authority and superiority which made co-operation impossible. Temple saw at once that matters were arranged: and he demanded equal power for himself and his friends—such as no doubt he had on former occasions offered to Mr. Pitt—that his honour might remain without stain, his conduct consistent, and that there might be no overwhelming authority that should compromise him by negotiation or agreement. Whether the terms on which Mr. Pitt consented to accept office were dictated by the King or by "the King's friends," they were the same that would have been dictated by Lord Bute. Parties were again to be broken up by fresh divisions;—a section of the Rockingham Whigs was to be retained in office,—a section of "the King's friends" to be admitted to office,—Mr. Pitt and a few of his friends to creep into office;—and to make patent to the world the subserviency of Mr. Pitt, Lord Bute's brother, Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, was to be restored to his office of Lord Privy Seal for Scotland, and *for life*,—and as security for future good behaviour, "the great Commoner" consented to be shelved in a peerage. Lord Hardwicke appears to have thought as we do on this subject, for he thus wrote to Lord Rockingham:—

"I cannot help fancying that the terms of the *agreement* between Lord Chatham and the Scotch Thane must have run in the style of recognizance. The condition of the obligation being such that 'you and the said W. P., &c., shall, in good and lawful money of Great Britain, &c., for the *behoof and benefit* of my dearly beloved brother,' &c."*

The more influential members of the Rockingham party who had remained in office soon saw through the shallow pretence of liberality,—saw, as Lord Rockingham said, that the policy adopted "meant the destruction, or would have the consequence of breaking" up the party, and resigned;—forthwith, Mr. Charles Jenkinson, one of "the King's friends" and formerly Lord Bute's private secretary, was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

We are told that these facts signify nothing,—that we have the assurance of Lord Bute's son that his father did not advise. We certainly by no means consider these facts as conclusive:—but we have also the assurance of almost every minister when out of office that Lord Bute's influence controlled and directed everything,—confirmed by the word of Mr. Pitt and Lord Chatham under like circumstances—that is, when out of office. Then, Lord Chatham could see nothing but a regular system of despotism, originating in the "all controlling power of the man, who held principles incompatible with freedom." Bah!—the man held the same power and the same principles when Lord Chatham retired from as when Mr. Pitt accepted office,—the same as when Lord Temple refused to join with Pitt except on such conditions as should secure to the ministry freedom of action.

We fear that we shall have somewhat wearied our readers by commenting at such length on these volumes, and on that storehouse of historic information 'The Grenville Papers,'—following so immediately Lord Mahon's 'History,' and all relating to the same period. But simultaneous publication is an accident, while historic importance is permanent:—and no

* See Life of Hardwicke, iii. 459.

one can hereafter write on the period without reference to these works.

Lord Albemarle of course felt himself called on to say something about Junius. Fortunately, under some mis-information, he had "torn up his notes" on the subject,—and thus was compelled to condense into a few pages what, judging from those pages, could have proved only, no matter how extended or elaborated, how little he knew, had read or thought on the subject.—

"According to my hypothesis, George Grenville was not the author, but the originator of the Junius letters; that he employed Mr. Charles Lloyd, his former private secretary, to convey the materials for the work to Mr., afterwards Sir Philip Francis, who dressed them up in his own language; and that, after Mr. Grenville's death, Lord Temple continued to supply matter to Francis through the medium of Mr. Lloyd until within seventeen days of the latter gentleman's death."

—This hypothesis can scarcely be considered original. Dr. Parr and others always maintained that the letters were written by Lloyd, the information being furnished by Grenville; and some quarter of a century since—probably to humour the Franciscans, then in the ascendant—Mr. Barker developed this theory in a rambling volume of five or six hundred pages, and suggested that possibly Francis was the amanuensis.

To the Franciscan theory of Mr. Taylor there are, independent of all other objections, some moral ones, which, for the honour of human nature, we hope are insurmountable;—still the wild erratic courses of other enthusiasts, political as well as religious, forbid us to say that on moral grounds alone Francis could not have been the writer. But that Francis, or any man in the position and with the relations of Francis and his family,—without the heated brain of enthusiasm — without feeling or interest, which is almost assumed in assigning to him so subordinate an agency,—would risk all he had—all his hopes for the future—his moral character beyond redemption,—by associating himself in any

way with an attack on the King and others, to whom he and his father were under the deepest personal and pecuniary obligation, passes all experience, comprehension, and belief. Lord Albemarle has, however, added one or two circumstances, the force of which we are at a loss to conjecture.

What, for example, can be the meaning of his specific reference to information furnished after Mr. Grenville's death by Lord Temple, up to "*within seventeen days*" of Mr. Lloyd's death? We cannot help the reader even to a conjecture. All we know is, that the last letter of Junius was published 21st of January, 1772; and that Mr. Lloyd died on the 22nd of January, 1773, and therefore more than twelve months after the last letter of Junius was published;—that the last of the Miscellaneous Letters *attributed* to Junius was published on the 12th of May, 1772, and therefore more than eight months before Mr. Lloyd died. The meaning, therefore, of Lord Albemarle in stating with such scrupulous exactness that information was furnished by Lord Temple to Mr. Lloyd up to "within seventeen days" of his death, we must leave to the speculative imagination of the reader.

Another curious confirmative authority is added by Lord Albemarle.—

"I am unwilling to consider these letters as the work of an individual. In the early editions of Junius the frontispiece represents bees hovering round a hive. Underneath are the words, 'Nos numerus sumus,' a motto, intending (and, as I conceive, with truth) to imply that more than one person was concerned in the production."

—Though "early editions" covers more than one edition, it does not specifically mention any edition; but the reader will see at once that unless this bee-hive and motto appeared in the edition of 1772, *the only one brought out under the authority and with the avowed sanction of Junius*, it can have no relevancy whatever to the question under consideration. We need scarcely add, that it did *not* appear in the title-page of that edition. Still, though nothing subsequent could be brought to bear on the subject, we were curious to see by whom and

when these significant bee-hive editions were published;—we turned, therefore, to some fourteen editions of Junius—including, as we believe, every edition that could put forth the claim of one original note—without success; no bee-hive could be found. It was obvious, therefore, that the "early editions" referred to by his Lordship neither meant the earliest nor the best, but some of the mere cheap reprints,—published, probably, from the bee-hive and motto, by "associated" publishers, and which we had considered as mere waste paper. We however sent to the old booksellers to obtain copies and learn particulars. The results of our inquiries are these:—an edition by "Vernor and Hood, Cuthell, Walker" and others, in 1804, with the bee-hive and the motto "Associated,"—referring, we suppose, to the fact that "more than one person [bookseller] was concerned in the production;" another, by Oddy & Co., 1811, with the bee-hive, but without the motto, from which we infer that it was a private speculation of Oddy & Co., and not a speculation in which others were "associated." We have also received the following information. "There was an edition of Junius published many years ago by Cundee, of Ivy Lane—of no value—which contained, I am informed, a bee-hive with a Latin motto on the title; as did editions of Bacon's 'Essays,' Locke's 'Essays,' and other works by the same publisher. Engraved bee-hives with printed Latin mottoes were common in the books of that time—different volumes of the same work—'Elegant Extracts,' for example—have the bee-hive on the several title-pages,—but with different Latin mottoes. There was some half century since a club of publishers called The Bee-Hive Club:—in brief, engraved bee-hives with printed Latin mottoes are to be found in books for at least a hundred years, from 1725 to 1825."

We must, however, once again remind the reader that no bee-hive appears in the only authorized edition,—and, therefore, bee-hives and Latin mottoes can prove nothing:—unless, indeed, it be assumed that the bee-hive booksellers found out the secret, and resolved to keep it a secret by wrapping it up in a symbol.

BURKE.

From the *Athenæum*, December 3, 1853.

The Public and Domestic Life of Edmund Burke. By Peter Burke, Esq. Ingram, Cooke & Co.

We have long been anxious to learn some authentic particulars of "the domestic life" of Edmund Burke—and therefore opened the work before us with more than usual interest. We thought it possible, from name and associations, above all from the specific promise on the title-page, that Mr. Peter Burke was about to reveal to us some new particulars relating to a celebrated statesman concerning whose progress to eminence we know infinitely less than we do of that of Bolingbroke, of Walpole, of Chesterfield, of Chatham, of Fox, of Pitt, and we may add, of Canning. When we read the Preface, in which the writer contemptuously refers to previous biographers, our expectations were raised still higher,—and we turned to his volume with anxious and excited curiosity.

We were soon, however, brought to a standstill,—troubled and perplexed by the strange jumble of irreconcileable opinions, —and shall at once submit the following as a curious specimen of hap-hazard criticism or assertion.—

"Edmund Burke devoted a great portion of his time at college to general reading; his chief subject was history—the future weapon of his strength; among historians Plutarch was his favourite. In oratory, he pored over Demosthenes; he took his moral philosophy from Francis Bacon, and especially from Addison; and he doated on the poetry of Shakespeare. In

classics his bias was for Horace, Virgil, and Lucretius. He was also extremely fond of works of fiction: 'A good novel is a good book,' was a remark he used frequently to make."

Our readers, we suspect, will be as much astonished as we were to learn that Edmund Burke, a profound thinker and powerful reasoner, preferred Plutarch to Thucydides, Tacitus, and Livy! The fact, we suspect, is, that Mr. P. Burke had read and imperfectly remembered the following sentences in Prior's 'Life' (vol. I. p. 23): "Plutarch's writings, he professed to a friend at this time, to prefer to any others,"—in other words, Edmund Burke, like many persons, preferred loitering over Plutarch's interesting pages of biography, to reading works demanding more attention. That is a very different thing from making Burke prefer Plutarch "among *historians*." Plutarch is not to be classed with historians, and he himself ('Life of Alexander the Great') protested that he wrote only "lives, not histories." "In oratory," Burke, we are told, "*pored* over Demosthenes." We doubt the fact. Persons who are extravagantly fond of Cicero rarely appreciate the austere severity and nude grandeur of the Greek orator; and had Burke "*pored*" over Demosthenes, he would have been more familiar with the Greek language than he showed himself in life. "He took his moral philosophy from Francis Bacon, and *especially from Addison!*" Bacon's mind was essentially prospective—and Burke's to a great degree was retrospective. Bacon was a foe to human prejudices,—Burke dealt leniently with many of the fond illusions of the vulgar. Bacon had little regard for prescription,—Burke had a remarkable deference for all that was established. His passions rarely influenced the thinking of the author of *De Augmentis*,—his intense susceptibility seldom left Burke even in the closet. One was essentially a rationalist of a peculiarly original school,—and the other in a philosophical sense can be accepted only as an eclectic thinker. A man acquainted with the writings of Bacon and those of Burke could never suppose that the latter "took his moral philosophy" from the former. Then we come to "especially from Addison"! It is certainly placing

Addison on a high pedestal to exhibit him as the master of Burke in philosophy;—but the absurdity is too obvious for comment.

We are also told that Burke "*doated* on the poetry of Shakespeare." Now it does happen, that for so very voluminous and imaginative a writer as Burke, the quotations and references to Shakespeare are far fewer than could be anticipated. We doubt whether he was an enthusiast about Shakspeare. If he were, it is singular that, with his propensity for characterizing authors, he has not left us one of his elaborate portraits of a poet on whom we are here told he "*doated.*" "In classics his bias was for Horace, Virgil, and Lucretius." Here we have not a word of the author beyond all others of whom Burke was passionately fond—Cicero. It is impossible to read any great speech, or long essay, from Burke without at once detecting the author who most influenced his manner. Even if we had no special knowledge on this point, we should infer the fact ourselves;—but hear Sir Philip Francis on the subject of Burke's love of Cicero. In his 'Letter Missive to Lord Holland' (p. 17), Francis thus writes:—

"In my long intimacy with Edmund Burke, to *me* a great and venerable name, it could not escape me, nor did he wish to conceal it, that Cicero was the model, on which he laboured to form his own character, in eloquence, in policy, in ethics, and philosophy. With this view he acted on a principle of general imitation only, and, in my opinion, infinitely surpassed the original."

On the whole question (often disputed) as to the exact extent of Burke's classical attainments, we will quote the little-known letter of Charles James Fox to Mr. Anthony Robinson.—

"In answer to your letter of the 9th instant, I have no difficulty in saying that what has been told you of Mr. Burke's ignorance of Greek, and superficial knowledge of Latin, is perfectly false. He knew of Greek as much, or more than persons usually do, who have neglected it since their leaving school, or college, which was, I believe, in a great degree his

case. I have heard him quote Homer and Pindar. Latin appeared to me to be very familiar to him, and particularly the works of Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Tacitus. It is impossible to read Mr. Burke's *Works*, and not to see that he imitated the first mentioned of these authors most particularly, as well in his turn of thinking, as in the manner of expression. I believe, however, he had not any very nice critical knowledge even of Latin, and less of Greek, nor were grammatical enquiries in general much in his way."

It has often struck us that at the time when Burke was growing into manhood Middleton's 'Life of Cicero' (published in 1741) was enjoying great vogue, and it may have fostered Burke's love for the style of the Roman orator.

In the next paragraph, amongst the characteristics of Burke, his biographer records "his *extreme* urbanity." Wilberforce, a good judge and competent witness, gives us a very different account of his manner. After recording how anxious he was to consult Burke on the Slave Trade, he declares that his manners in society prevented him from the intercourse which he wished for; and all those who have commented on the portion of Burke's life subsequent to 1782 have represented him as choleric and irritable. Dr. Bisset admits that "his ardent sensibility rendered his temper irritable," and pleads in apology that "his rage, though violent, was not lasting:" and even Mr. Prior only hazards a conjecture and a hope that his irritability was occasional and transient. But his spurning the friendship of Fox, after the open and generous expression of Fox's regret at their political differences, and the tears he shed in the House of Commons—the offensive refusal even to see him when Fox, nobly regardless of the abstract right or wrong of those differences, called at his house—could never have come from an urbane man. Nor is that all. In dealing with the allies of the Whig party, we know from twenty authorities that Burke had considerable arrogance of manner, and gave great offence.

Mr. Peter Burke is very little informed in the political history of the last century. We could fill columns with his

blunderings. In his endeavours to make out that Edmund Burke was "Junius" he quotes amongst other evidence, of about equal weight, "the celebrated description" of "Junius" by Burke, with the prophecy as to consequences if he were "a member of this house," which prophecy—it has been known these dozen years, since the publication of the Cavendish Debates—was not applied to "Junius" at all,—but to another and then equally celebrated anonymous pamphleteer—"Candor." In his argument (if it can be called one) to show that the man in the mask and the Whig pamphleteer were the same person, Mr. Peter Burke never sees the deep stain that his labours must affix on the character of his hero. Burke and "Junius" may be equally entitled to respect; but, for reasons which this biographer does not dream of, there would be an end to all respect for either if it could be shown that they were one and the same.

In brief, the criticisms in Mr. Peter Burke's volume seemed to us a jumble of other people's opinions;—some old, some new, often misread, misquoted, or misinterpreted. A suspicion early crossed our mind, that we were familiar with a great deal of this new and original work. We were, indeed, more puzzled than became critics of our age and standing. We thought, as the Vicar thought on a like occasion, that it might be very profound, but was not altogether new. We apologized, after the Vicar's gracious fashion, even to ourselves for such suspicions. Still, as in duty bound, we turned to Prior's 'Life of Burke,' for twenty years the principal authority on this subject. Partly from want of original materials, and from other causes to which we will not refer, Mr. Prior's performance could not be accepted as satisfactory. But it had its merits; and the second edition contained some original information, for which we felt ourselves indebted to the industry and zeal of the author. Good taste, we think, should have suggested to Mr. P. Burke a different style of comment on the labours of his predecessors than the following:—

"The reason why there exists such imperfect knowledge of the man himself is doubtless this: there has been really no

complete and readable account of the life of Burke. The more extensive memoirs of him are mere disjointed, discursive, and confusing compilations. Political and private matters are so mixed up and jumbled together in them, with such little regard to following the time or tide of events as they flow on, that the reader who attempts to master the narrative finds himself lost as in a labyrinth, until utter weariness and perplexity impede, or altogether prevents his going further."

It was soon manifest that we were on a wrong scent. All, indeed, that Mr. Prior's diligence and research had gleaned from high-ways and bye-ways—all his dates, facts, and circumstances—had been appropriated by Mr. Peter Burke without one word of acknowledgment. Still we had stumbled in Mr. Peter Burke's volume on occasional paragraphs and speculations that had a sort of inharmonious merit—a philosophic tendency above the dull level of the connecting narrative—and some criticisms decidedly above common-place. Fortunately, in the height of our bewilderment we remembered Dr. Bisset and his half-century old volumes. Bisset was one of those numberless men of ability who wrote with a free and facile pen for bread and the booksellers, and who hurried out a 'Life of Edmund Burke' in 1798, when public curiosity was excited and expectant. Mr. Prior's more elaborate work came long after; and forthwith Bisset's volumes went the way of all such temporary publications, whatever their mere artistic merit, to encumber the book-stalls. They have been clean gone out of public memory these twenty years.

What now will the reader think of Mr. Peter Burke and his generous commentary on the labours of his predecessors, when informed that his new volume is a mere piratical manufacture out of the despised, disjointed, discursive, unreadable, and confusing compilations of these old biographers? We are sorry for it—grieved even to record the fact;—but so it is. As Edmund Burke said of the Ministry of 1766, his book is so checkered and speckled, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed, that we have found it impossible to separate Mr. Peter Burke's contributions from other people's, and conclude

our researches with a doubt, whether there is one entire page in the volume to which some other person has not a better claim than Mr. Peter Burke. In brief, this is a case of literary piracy almost beyond example;—in all our *Athenæum* experience we remember nothing like it since Mr. Wade's volume of 'Notes to Junius,' or before it, but Lord William Lennox's immortal novel of 'The Tuft Hunter.'

From the *Athenæum*, December 10th, 1853.

THE worst Biography has its uses. The more unscrupulous the Pirate the more his deficiencies suggest deficiencies in others—irrelevant talk is good presumptive evidence of want of facts and of knowledge—and these together may help us to suggestions worthy the consideration of the better men who are to follow. In the case of Burke, the last of his biographers plunges at once knee-deep into irrelevant genealogy—hence the reader may fairly conclude, that little or nothing is known of Edmund Burke's ancestors. We are told, indeed, that "several circumstances tend to show that Edmund Burke was a descendant of an off-shoot of Clanricarde. Tradition, so often, and more *especially in Ireland*, an *unerring* guide on the misty path of the genealogist, affirms that"—and so forth. In opposition to the affirmations of "tradition," we know the fact that the name of Burke or Bourke is as common in the counties of Limerick and Cork as those of Smith and Brown are in Surrey and Middlesex, and if all these Burkes are descended from De Burgh, then De Burgh must be Irish or Norman for Adam. Burke himself emphatically despised the rubbish of a Wardour Street pedigree, dimmed or brightened according to order. If Edmund Burke had been in any way connected with the family of Lord Clanricarde, the world would have often been reminded of it at the time when he was vilified as "a Jesuit from St. Omer's," "the black Jesuit," a miserable adventurer, and "O'Bourke, the Irish Papist."

Following the errors of Mr. Prior, the latest of the biographers then alludes to the Nagles, of "Moneaminy" instead

of "Monanimy."* The mistake is trivial, but it indicates a copyist of the work censured. He then tells us, that Edmund Burke was born "on the 1st of January, 1730, or as otherwise alleged, 1728." Now Edmund Burke himself writing to Lord Rockingham on the 12*th* of January, 1775, says in a postscript, —"*My Birthday;* I need not say how long ago." In fixing dates of birth, it is always necessary to be careful in marking whether the old or new style of computation is employed. As to the doubt which, it appears, still exists as to the year of Burke's birth, it is not creditable to his biographers. We have two known authorities on the subject:—the register at Trinity College, Dublin, and the monumental inscription in Beaconsfield Church; and when allowance shall have been made for the difference in Style and the difference in the Civil and Historical year, which existed at the time of Burke's birth, they seem to us reconcileable the one with the other, and until better evidence be produced they must be considered as conclusive. Burke, it is admitted, was born on the 1st of January, O.S., and therefore, according to the one computation in 1728, and to the other in 1729. Mr. Prior has some speculations on the subject of the College Register which, to us, are not satisfactory. The later biographer is less scrupulous:—he records the doubt, and then proceeds to argue as if there were no doubt at all, misled probably by some unacknowledged authority;—thus, we are told that the publication of the 'Essay on the Sublime,' in 1756, at once gave the writer, at *the age of* 26, a position amongst the standard authors of the country; and he denounces and denies the monumental inscription, because it records that Burke died, 1797, "aged 68 years," whereas he says, "he was not sixty-eight, but in his sixty-eighth year."

Nothing is known of Burke's immediate paternal ancestors, and very little of his family,—some dozen brothers and sisters being disposed of, by his biographers, in the comprehensive phrase, "died in youth." Be the facts as they may, there were Burkes of whose antecedents and relationships we are

* Amongst those who signed the Remonstrance in 1661 was "Pierce Nangle, of *Monanimy*." The Book of Obit. of T. C. D. speaks of Nagle of *Monanimy*.

more anxious to hear than even of De Burgh himself. William Burke, for example, so early, so long, and so intimately associated with Edmund,—

> —honest William, whose heart was a mint,
> While the owner ne'er knew half the good that was in't.

The mystery which envelopes him is not made much clearer by the manner in which he is spoken of by those who affect to settle all disputed points about "the Burkes." According to Mr. Prior, William Burke was a friend, "*but no relation:*"—the latest biographer, without mentioning his authority, says "a friend *and* relative,"—and William Burke himself calls Edmund and John "my two kinsmen:"—another of the biographers calls him a "cousin" of Edmund's; and Edmund described him as "a friend whom I have tenderly loved, highly valued, and continually lived with in an union not to be expressed, quite since our boyish years,"—"my dearest, oldest, best friend." We get a more vivid and life-like picture of William and of Richard Burke from Goldsmith's pleasant and graceful trifle, 'Retaliation,' than from all the volumes of the biographers put together. We think it possible, indeed, from circumstances not alluded to by the biographers, that William was the first of the Burkes that floated to the surface,—that Richard was early indebted to his friendship, and that even Edmund was under obligations to him. In 1763 we find William in communication with the Prime Minister, George Grenville,—as a sort of agent for Lord Verney, who was for years after the friend and patron of the Burkes, and who brought both William and Edmund into Parliament. When the Rockinghams came into office, William was made Under-Secretary of State; and looking to all the circumstances and the relative position of the parties, we think it possible that Edmund had been obliged to William for the kind or corroborating word that helped him to the situation of Private Secretary to the Minister. Who, again, was "cousin Will Burke," who appears to have visited London in 1759? Who was "John Burke, of Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street, gent.,"—Edmund's bondsman when he was entered of the Temple in 1750, and to whose house Shackleton's speculative letter to Edmund was

addressed so late as 1757 ?* Who was John *Bourke*, of India, to whom Edmund referred in his letter to Francis, 1777 ? We were at first told that he was an unsuccessful merchant in London, who tried his fortune in India ; but he is now found to have been "a scion" of the house of Bourke, Earls of Mayo, and to have died Receiver-General of the Land-tax in Middlesex. Who was "the chief of the Benedictine monks at Parma," who so exactly resembled Edmund that when Benjamin West, the painter, was introduced to the latter, "he could scarcely persuade himself he was not the same person" ?—a resemblance, says West's biographer, John Galt, "not accidental," for "the Protestant orator was, indeed, the brother of the monk." Surely we have a right to expect some information from Burke's biographers on the connexion or relationship of these parties ; yet even the startling and confident assertion of Mr. Galt is not adverted to. The strong probabilities are, that Mr. Galt was in error ; but it seems to us equally probable that relationship, connexion, or personal likeness between the Statesman and the Chief of the Benedictines, may have led to the contemporary and long-continued assertions about Edmund the Jesuit and his education at St. Omer's ; and to the fluttering excitement and protest of the Duke of Newcastle.

The curious, indeed, might ask who was Richard Burke—Goldsmith's "honest Richard"—Edmund's own brother ?—for, to judge from the biographers, it appears doubtful whether he was a myth or a man. There is no grappling with him as a real and substantive anything. When Edmund says incidentally, in one of his letters, "Richard is in the city," we are informed in a note that "the first views of Richard were directed to commerce." What does that mean ? We remember when a clever Irishwoman was eloquent in praise of the genius of her nephew, a plain matter-of-fact man asked "What is he—what is he doing ?"—"Ah ! poor dear fellow," said the lady,

* According to the condensed "Promotions," no doubt from the *Gazette*, in *European Magazine*, Sept., 1782 (V. 2, 79), Lord Shelburne to be First Lord, &c. ; John Burke, Esq., to be Receiver-General of the duties on windows and lights for London and Westminster and county of Middlesex, and so on, with many appointments consequent on change of ministry. But I suppose J. B.'s appointment had been previously, under Rockingham, agreed on.

"he is being brought up a Bank Director,"—which meant, as afterwards interpreted by a friend, that he was a junior clerk in the Bank of Ireland. Do the biographers mean that Richard was brought up a Bank Director, or an East India Director, or that he was at that time a merchant or a merchant's clerk? What they say means anything. Our next distinct view of him, and this is not by the help or light of the biographers, is in 1759:—"Poor Dick," says Edmund in one of his letters, "is on the point of quitting us. . . . One of the first merchants here has taken him by the hand and enabled him to go off with a very valuable cargo,"—which, translated into the vernacular, may mean that Dick was going out as supercargo. In July, 1764, we learn, on like authority, that Dick was to set off "at the beginning of next week for the Grenadas"—"probably for some years,"—and we are then told, in another mysterious note, that "Mr. Richard Burke obtained, at this time, an appointment in the Customs in the island of Grenada, which he held for some years." Through what interest did he obtain this appointment? We should say, assuming that he really had such an appointment in 1764, possibly through the opening influences of William Burke.* The "some years," however, of his probable residence turned out to be some months; for in October, 1765, "Richard" was "himself again"—and enjoying, as few could do more genially, the amenities of London society—having left the island, says Edmund, "after a great deal of vexation from, but also after a great and perfect triumph over, his enemies, a set of the greatest villains that ever existed." Hard words these,—but how did a mere ministerial officer contrive, in those few months, to get so desperately involved with the villains?—and did he return without leave, or how did he get leave? for on a subsequent occasion, when he certainly had an appointment, he applied to the Lords of the Treasury for permission to return. We are aware that a violent dispute arose in the island between the Governor and the Council or the House of Representatives

* In April, 1763, appointed collector in Grenada. See Prior (edit. 1854), p. 70.

about the appointment of Roman Catholics to office, and that there was a great waste of Protestantism and pamphlets in England with reference to those Island disputes; but we do not see how a Collector of Customs could have been involved in them. We know, further, that Lauchlan Macleane, the intimate friend of the Burkes, was a great land-jobber or land-speculator in that island soon after the capture,—that Richard passed and re-passed frequently between the island and England,—that in 1772 Edmund, writing to Mr. Nagle, says:—

"Since my brother came home, he has not been negligent in the management of *his contested purchase.* How the matter may finally terminate, I know not; but hitherto he has gone on so successfully as to obtain a Report of the Board of Trade, recommending to the Council the disallowance of the Act of Provincial Assembly, which had *put him out of possession* and *declared his title void.* Thus far, he has succeeded. Of the quiet and unmolested possession, I do not despair; but as it is *an affair of magnitude,* so it will be a work of time and patience."

On this Mr. Prior observes that—"when in the West Indies, Richard, it appears, made a purchase which turned out unfortunate, and ultimately occasioned him considerable pecuniary loss." Where does this "appear"? When and of whom did he make the purchase? Where did he get the money to make his purchase "an affair of magnitude"? On these points we shall say a few words hereafter. Meanwhile the hurried and worried life of "poor Dick" passed on; sometimes in London, sometimes in Grenada;—in London in 1769, and in gambling in East India Stock to a frightful and ruinous extent;—in London in 1773, when he wrote to William Burke as if detained away from his family by some engrossing pursuit, and crying out, as it were, in agony, "City, city, O city! not when shall I see thee? but when shall I say, may my head remain on Temple Bar if ever my body passes it;"—in 1776, still under the shadow of misfortune, for we learn from a letter of Edmund's, "Richard, the elder, is in town. If his business had prospered you would have been one of the first to hear of

it. But we do not trouble our friends except with pleasing news. He has had much wrong done to him; but the thing is not yet desperate. I believe that the Commissioner who goes out will not have adverse instructions;"—in 1778, when "judgments," as we believe they are called, were entered up against him in our law courts. Not a word of explanation have we as to all these mysterious doings and sufferings from those who profess to write "the domestic life" of Edmund Burke,—although the brothers, we are told, had but "one home and one purse." Then, suddenly and still more mysteriously, the scene changes, and "poor Dick" becomes prosperous "Richard;"—in 1778, as we are told, that is, when between forty-six and forty-eight years of age, Richard is called to the Bar!—becomes a practising barrister—is spoken of by Lord Mansfield as a rising man at the bar!—travels the Western circuit as his own letters prove—becomes one of the Secretaries of the Treasury in 1782—and succeeds John Dunning (Lord Ashburton) as Recorder of Bristol in 1793! Why these jottings, gleaned from a variety of sources, and mere casual and incidental words, read like the outline of a fairy tale; and a fairy tale it must remain until a biographer shall arise who will go earnestly to work to reconcile the seemingly irreconcileable, and link the strange accidents of an eventful life into a harmonious narrative.

To return to the central figure of the group:—Edmund Burke was essentially a man of the middle class, by birth, by connexions, and by associations. His father was an attorney in Dublin—had a large family—some fourteen or fifteen children—and no doubt a struggle to bring them up, or decently bury them, as circumstances required. We are told, indeed, that he made "a considerable provision" for his children; but none of the biographers are pleased to give us proof of this. Why have they not submitted their authorities? Why not told us the amount? Not all the Burkes, from De Burgh downwards, could have raised sixpence, even on Arran Quay, with such vague words as these. Then again we read about patrimonial estates that came into possession of Edmund in 1765, on the death of his elder brother Garrett. Is it quite

certain that they were patrimonial estates?—that is, estates of inheritance, which had descended from father to son until they vested in Edmund Burke's father, and through Garrett, in Edmund Burke. Were they ever possessed by his father? It appears from Edmund Burke's letter of the 9th of December, 1777,* that property bequeathed to him by Garrett, "had been litigated by some of his relations *with his elder brother*" —and that the question of right had something to do with the infamous penal laws. Burke's account is this:—"in 1765, my brother died and *left me* his interest in Colhir." He adds that "During my brother's lifetime, whilst *the transaction was recent*, and all the parties and witnesses living, the affair *was litigated;* that the litigation had proved unsuccessful; and that *a decree of a Court of equity* had established him *in peaceable possession.* I suppose that nobody will think me unjust in supposing that I had *a fair title* to what was *so left* and *so confirmed.*" In conclusion, Burke says,—"I could not admit his [Mr. R. Nagle's] claim, made, as he made it, *without affecting my brother's memory.*" Why not explain this, instead of mystifying the subject by talk about his great-great-grandfather and the patrimonial estates? It is a curious circumstance that this question was raised eighty years since,—and that after all the words and volumes of his biographers, we are as much in the dark as ever. In 1773, a satirical poem was published called 'The Rape of Pomona,'—said to have been written by a somewhat notorious person, Mr. Coventry, subsequently a member of Parliament, and whose *civil* words about Burke are quoted by his biographers. In that work, the writer incidentally alludes to this very question.—

> Who, like Ned B—ke, from Liffey's bogs depart,
> (Brogue on each tongue, and mischief in each heart),
> That moral Teague, who in religious cause
> Wrote his famed treatise on the penal laws.

—The meaning of which is thus explained in a note.—

"Mr. Burke some years ago composed an elaborate Essay, pointing out with great elegance and strength of reason, the

* The letter is in edit. 1739, p. 95. It was subsequently omitted.

injustice and bad policy of the penal laws in force against the Roman Catholics in Ireland as incompatible with the principles of toleration and the right of mankind. Just as his treatise was ready for the press, *a renegade relation of his died who had acquired an estate by turning an informer, which he bequeathed to the conscientious Edmund.* The piece was instantly suppressed, as Mr. Burke was suddenly convinced that the penal laws are beneficial to society, and the bulwark of the Protestant religion."

The assertions here made as to the motives and feelings of Edmund Burke are, of course, false and libellous,—he never did change his opinions in respect to the Penal Laws; but it is a fact, and a curious fact, that Burke about the time referred to, and just before he came into possession of the estate in question, was preparing an elaborate Essay on the Penal Laws in Ireland, which was found in MS. amongst his papers, after his death, and then first published. Now Burke may have felt that, under circumstances, it would have been neither wise nor decent, with reference to his brother's memory and character, to publish this essay at that particular period,—he may, therefore, have suppressed it when he came into possession of the estate;—but be the facts what they may, while persons persevere in writing biographies, the public have some right to know what are the facts.

In the enumeration of the early writings of Burke we are of course favoured with the stereotyped commendation of the admirable Essays, written while yet at college, in which Burke exposed the "noxious and insidious tendency" of the writings of "a demagogue apothecary, Dr. Lucas."—

Burke's Life, 1853.

"In the year 1749 one Dr. Charles Lucas, a demagogue apothecary, wrote a number of daring papers against government, and acquired as great popularity in Dublin as Wilkes afterwards did in London. Burke, versed in scholastic logic, and full of other knowledge suited to his purpose, perceived the nox-

Burke's Life, 1798.

"In the year 1749, Lucas, a demagogue apothecary, wrote a number of very daring papers against government, and acquired as great popularity at Dublin as Mr. Wilkes afterwards did in London. Burke, whose principal attention had been directed to more important objects than scholastic logic, perceived the

ious and insidious tendency of the doctor's extreme levelling doctrines, and adopted a novel and clever mode of counteracting them. He wrote several essays in the style of Lucas, imitating it so completely as to deceive the public, pursuing Lucas's principles to consequences obviously resulting from them, and at the same time shewing their absurdity and danger. Thus the first literary effort of his mind was an exposure of the absurdity of violent harangues about wild democratic innovations."—(pp. 10-11.)

noxious tendency of levelling doctrines. He wrote in the same year several essays in the style of Lucas, imitating it so completely as to deceive the public; — pursuing Lucas's principles to consequences obviously resulting from them, and at the same time shewing their absurdity and danger. The first literary effort of his mind was an exposure of the absurdity of democratical innovations."—(pp. 27-8.)

This eulogium of young Burke's maiden venture may be deserved; but though we have twenty volumes of Burke's collected works and letters, and other volumes of his admitted writing,—though Mr. Prior has very properly given us specimens even of Burke's college exercises or college poetry,—no one of Burke's biographers or admirers has ever published a specimen of these Essays; nor, strange as it may appear, was it ever our good fortune to meet with a man, Irishman or Englishman, who had either read or seen them. We doubt if either of the above sympathizing admirers be an exception.

As to the character here given of the tendency of the writings and teachings of Dr. Lucas, it might have passed current in the excitement of party madness, but it is a little too bad to see such nonsense reproduced a century after as sober historical truth. Nothing, however, can be more absurd than to talk about "the tendency" of the Doctor's writings: whatever Lucas meant to say he said plainly enough; a moon-calf if he could have read his works could not have mistaken his meaning. The "noxious apothecary" was an honest, earnest, and useful man in his generation—not to be judged by any other standard than that of his age. All he demanded, and more, has been long since granted. Judged by the light of the nineteenth century, Lucas failed, as the patriots of his day and of days long after failed, by not demanding enough;

neither he nor they had much sympathy with their Catholic countrymen;—neither he, nor they, nor the Catholics themselves demanded the abolition of the Penal Laws;—neither he nor they were, like Burke, in advance of the age,—and when therefore Catholic emancipation became the war-cry in Ireland, Lucas, his sufferings and his services were alike forgotten. But whilst living his fellow-citizens recognized them; and when the most corrupt Parliament that ever disgraced a nation —and we yield this bad pre-eminence with a perfect recollection of the demerits of its contemporary English Parliaments —had forced Lucas to fly his country, the citizens of Dublin selected him as their representative; and when he died the corporation in a body attended his funeral—erected a monument to his memory, one of the best statues in Dublin, though with a little too much of the Roubiliac flourishing—granted a pension to his widow,—and Trinity College, we believe, entered and educated his son free from all charge. To such "demagogues" as Lucas, and to the finer spirits that knew how to profit by their indomitable energy, we owe half our liberties,—they were first the pioneers of civilization and then of reform. The old demagogue is extinct now,—his was, at best, but the voice of suffering heard in a corner, and therefore too frequently and too easily stifled in a corner. His modern representative is a gentleman of quite another character; one who is cockered, flattered, and summoned to good men's feasts; who fears nothing, because there is nothing to fear—head and ears are safe now; who speaks trumpet-tongued morning and evening, and whose voice, or the echo of whose voice, is heard sounding and resounding in the remotest corners of three kingdoms:—but it should not be forgotten, that for this liberty of speech, or liberty of writing, he is indebted to the old "demagogue."

The progress of events now carries young Burke to London, and we are expected to follow with a fresh stock of admiration for another series of admirable Essays which nobody has seen, and none of his biographers can or will specifically refer to. Burke, we are told by the latest of these biographers, now set up as "a man of fashion"!—

Burke's Life, 1853.

"Under these circumstances he adopted the all-honourable course of relieving the lightness of his purse by the powers of his brain. He began regularly to write for daily, weekly, and monthly publications. To these he contributed essays on various subjects of general literature, and particularly politics. His compositions united already information, reasoning, and invention much beyond his ordinary contemporaries, though the profits came in but slowly, and public distinction had not yet arrived."—(pp. 15-16.)

Burke's Life, 1798.

"When he had entered himself of the Temple, he submitted to the drudgery of regularly writing for daily, weekly, and monthly publications."—(p. 37.)

"To periodical publications he contributed essays on various subjects of general literature and particular politics. These essays, though uniting information, reasoning, invention, and composition, much beyond contemporary writers, did not immediately enable their author to emerge from obscurity."—(p. 39.)

What "*daily, weekly,* and *monthly*" publications did Burke write for? If the biographers can speak positively as to the character of these Essays, why do they not give us some intelligible reference to them?—why do they not republish them?

In 1756, came forth 'The Vindication of Natural Society' and 'The Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful;' and we are told that "the labour of perfecting and producing in one year two such works were too much if not for the mind at least for the body of the author," and that "intense application" impaired his health. It is to be regretted that Burke's biographers will not agree even on facts, that we may know when to wonder and admire. Heretofore it was said to be "well known" that 'The Inquiry' was written while Burke was at college, and when nineteen years of age; and Burke himself said, when he forwarded a copy to Shackleton, "*it lay by me* [in MS.] a *good while*, and I, *at last*, ventured it out," and he told Dr. Lawrence that he began it "before he was nineteen years of age and had kept it by him *for seven years* before it was published."

We are now told that in the following year, 1757, Burke "*published* the commencement of an English History," "written some years before." Till now we knew not when

this history was written nor that it had been published by Burke. His executors told us that Burke began to write an Abridgment of the History of England—that some eight sheets were printed, that then the project was abandoned, and that the fragment was found at his death amongst his papers.

In that same year, 1757, was published 'An Account of the European Settlements in America.' Whether this work was written by Edmund, by Richard, by William, or by the Burkes conjointly, is a doubtful point on which, of course, the latest biographer does not throw even a gleam of light. Mr. Prior, who appears to have carefully considered the question, came to the conclusion that it was written by Edmund; and states that the editor of the edition of 1808 asserted positively that he had seen "the receipt for the copy-money, amounting to fifty guineas," in Edmund Burke's handwriting. Public opinion seems to agree generally with Mr. Prior's conclusion; but, as to the receipt, we suspect that the editor spoke from recollection, and really referred to the receipt, subsequently printed by Mr. Prior, for the copy of 'The Annual Register.' —Burke, it may be said, never acknowledged this latter work. Burke never acknowledged any of the drudging labours by which, at that time, he lived. He never avowed his connexion with 'The Annual Register,' although that connexion continued for years and, as is believed, long after he held office and became an M.P. His silence, indeed, led to doubts and discussions, closed only by the production of his receipts for the annual stipend. Here a question suggests itself, not without interest, and offering a pleasant and curious subject of inquiry to a diligent biographer,—was Edmund Burke ever in America? Burke's own silence proves nothing—it is admitted that he was studiously reserved about the occupations of his early life.

We know nothing certain about Burke from 1752 to 1757. In that long interval there is not one letter—not even to the Shackletons, his correspondents before and after, and, indeed, throughout his life—nothing but a fragment of a letter to his father, which has no intelligible meaning. Circumstances

tend to show that for a long time—many years possibly—there had been no intercourse between Burke and the Shackletons. We know that Shackleton had been in London, but did not see Burke. Anxious to hear something of his friend, and not knowing where to address him, Shackleton sent a letter, on the chance of its reaching him, to John Burke's house, in Serjeants' Inn. Burke was then on his wedding trip, and when at his return he received the letter, he apologized earnestly, and in his cordial and affectionate manner, for his long silence, and sent Shackleton a copy of the 'Inquiry' as "an offering in atonement,"—and the presumptions are that it was a copy of the second edition. Burke says, "what appearance there may have been of neglect, arose from my manner of life; sometimes in London, sometimes in remote parts of the country; sometimes in France, and shortly, please God, to be in America." This is very vague; we know, too, that he had been in Wales, and are told that he had been in Scotland, where he offered himself for a Professor's chair at Glasgow—why not in America? There is an abundance of unoccupied time for him to have gone there or anywhere. Benjamin West, an American be it remembered, stated that the first time he met Burke—

"the conversation after dinner chiefly turned on American subjects, in which Mr. Burke took a distinguished part, and not more delighted the artist with the rich variety and affluence of his mind than surprised him by the correct circumstantiality of his descriptions; so much so, that he was never able to divest himself of an impression received on this occasion, that Mr. Burke had actually been in America, and visited the scenes, and been familiar with many of the places which he so minutely seemed to recollect."—(*Life of West.*)

That the vast general and special knowledge of young Burke might have struck the younger American as essentially dependent on personal observation is probable; but these men grew old together; the intercourse between Burke and the President of the Academy continued through life,—and yet West, it appears, lived and died in the conviction that Burke had been in America.

The editors of Burke's works tell us that in 1754 or 1755, Burke, "it is said," was offered "some considerable employment in the State of New York," and thought of removing there, but gave up the project on its being objected to by his father; and Mr. Prior adduces the fragment of a letter in proof; from which, as he says—

"it may be inferred that a place of credit in one of the provinces [of America] was vacant which he had been offered; and having consulted some persons upon the propriety of accepting it, 'they all to a man highly approved.'"

This, it will be observed, is all report and inference, and proves only that at some moment of time in this obscure period, Burke's name and proceedings were intimately associated with America; and Burke's own emphatic "Please God, to be in America," may mean, to *return* to America, accompanied by his young wife. Mr. Prior's statement as to the contents of Burke's letter to his father is seemingly a pure piece of imagination. The greater part of the letter is published, and there is not one word in it about America; but there is, it appears, a middle page, which "is unintelligible from a part being torn away," and it is from "the few words which remain" of this unintelligible part that Mr. Prior deduces the story about the "place of credit" offered, and declined in deference to his father. Now it appears to us impossible that Burke could have so distressed not only his father but the whole family, as it must be inferred he had done from his emphatic apologies and regrets, by simply informing them that he had been offered "a place of credit"—"considerable employment"– in America, which he thought it would be wise to accept. Burke, be it remembered, was at that time a young man without name or fame, and without a profession;—he had not published a single volume;—he was without one certain sixpence of income beyond what, if anything, was allowed him by his father;—he was living separate and far away from his family, and to all appearance, and as the result proved, separated for life;—what, then, was there so seriously to distress the whole family in the

mere intention to remove a little further, to a considerable office of credit and profit? As Burke himself said on another occasion "to those at a distance, places a great way asunder" may "seem near." But whatever the proposal may have been, Burke says distinctly and emphatically that, in deference to his father's wishes, he foregoes his intention, "not with reluctance, but with pleasure,"—and yet in the very next published letter, he expresses this earnest hope that, please God, he shall be shortly in America.

It is strange, considering the eminence of the man, and how early his biographers were in the field, what an impenetrable cloud hangs over the life of Edmund Burke, from the time when he left college to his avowed entrance into a public career. The same observation was made long years since by one who knew him personally and well. "It always appeared to Mr. West ('Life of West') that there was about Mr. Burke *a degree of mystery connected with his early life* which their long intercourse never tended to explain." This mystery was not only maintained during life, but prepared for after death. There is not in existence, as far as we know or have a right to infer from the silence of the biographers, one single letter, paper, or document of any kind,—except a mysterious fragment of one letter,—relating to the domestic life of the Burkes, until long after Edmund Burke became an illustrious and public man,—no letters from parents to children, from children to parents, from brothers to brother, or brothers to sister. Such letters could not, of course, find a place in the formal "Correspondence of the Right Honourable,"—but they were the best possible material for the biographer—for the *man* Burke must grow in and out of them. These letters and documentary evidence must have been intentionally collected and destroyed; and the probabilities are, that they were destroyed by Edmund himself, for he was the last survivor of the family.

In that mysterious portion of Edmund's life, two things have always appeared to us remarkable—first, how he supported himself in London prior to his being *retained* by the Rockingham party; and secondly, where he got all the money requisite to purchase and to keep up Beaconsfield.

Burke's pen never could have supported him. Periodical literature was not paid for then as it is now; and though we smile at the statement about his being "a man of *fashion*," it is certain that his expenses must have been considerable. For the 'Annual Register' of 1761 he received two sums of 50*l.* from Dodsley; and when literary services were paid for at that price, we may conjecture how difficult it must have been for Burke, without a profession, to keep floating in London society. Curiosity was early and often excited on this point; and at the time when he accepted the pension, his career was animadverted on with great personality. His friends attempted to show that he was never an adventurer; and Mr. Prior refers to the assertions of Dr. Lawrence and others, to the effect that Burke received from his family at various periods sums amounting to nearly 20,000*l.*—just double the portion of Lord Chatham's son, William Pitt. It needed no Michael Cassio—no great arithmetician—to inform us that twice ten is twenty;—what we want is proof that Edmund Burke received the twenty thousand pounds; and until that is offered we shall remain incredulous. Further, it is fair to assume that the old man gave equal portions to his son Richard and his daughter, Mrs. French,—and the amount of the wealth of the Dublin attorney must be proportionately increased.

Early in 1768, Burke bought Gregories "for above 20,000*l.*," says Mr. Prior,—for 28,000*l.* says Dr. Bisset.—

"How Burke obtained the funds necessary for this landed acquisition has been the subject of much question and surmise. This arose, not from any doubt of his honour or conduct in the transaction, but from the complete secrecy he always adopted in any matters relating to himself personally. The solution of the affair is simple enough. In the first place, by his father's death and by that of his eldest brother Garrett, unmarried, in 1765, the parental lands in Ireland had come to him: the sale of these gave him some of the money; the rest he undoubtedly owed to the munificence of Lord Rockingham, who, when he heard that further funds were to have been procured on mortgage, voluntarily offered to lend the sum

necessary to complete the purchase. It is even said that his Lordship proposed a yet greater loan, which was declined by Burke; he would accept no more than was absolutely indispensable for his purpose, and that, upon a perfect understanding of its being a loan to be returned with the first opportunity."

Here we again read of the "complete *secrecy*" of Burke, and of his speculating on "the first opportunity" of repaying thousands! Now his brother Garrett's Irish property could not help him to the thousands required for this purchase; and we have never heard of other property beyond the vague words of the biographers. It could not help him even "to some of the money," for Burke retained the Irish estate, whether paternal or fraternal, until 1792 or '93, and then sold it for something under 4,000*l*. We read on, and are told of how "he received his friends and admirers frequently and cordially. His house was the continued resort of rank and beauty, wit and talent." Again we ask,—where did the money come from? The question is not answered by telling us that "the affair is simple enough," or by talk about loans or gifts from Lord Rockingham to aid in the purchase. *Keeping up* such a place for life, and living as a country squire, to say nothing of Burke's town expenses, must have continually called for more money than the farming of the estate could have realized, even when aided by his subsequent salary as Agent of the State of New York. In a letter to his friend Shackleton (May 1, 1768), Burke refers to the purchase:—"As to myself, I am by the very singular kindness of some friends in a way very agreeable to me. I have made a push with all I could collect of my own, and the aid of friends, to cast a little root in this country." Here we have the word "*friends*" used twice; and we surmise that Burke must have received other pecuniary assistance than that given or lent by Lord Rockingham. Some persons have conjectured that William Burke advanced a part of the purchase-money. But if so, we only so far vary our question as to ask where did *he* get it? Assume it to be true, and it does not help us to a solution of the difficulty; for Edmund must

have returned any such advance forthwith, as William, it will appear hereafter, was beggared and ruined within a twelvemonth. Observe the facts. Here we have an Irishman, who had no profession, whose avowed or known publications at that time were few, placed under forty years of age on a social level with, perhaps higher than, his countryman Grattan, when the latter had accepted 50,000*l.* grant from Parliament in 1782. Tennahinch, though more picturesquely located, was not in itself so aristocratic a residence, nor requiring such outlay, as Gregories. In the whole history of political speculators we know of nothing like the prize drawn by Burke. He arrived in London an adventurer, not to use the term disrespectfully, with all the world before him where to choose. He was open for a Scotch professorship,—thought of the Bar, and entered himself at the Temple,—thought earnestly and long of emigrating to America,—injured his health by hard study,—married early, and resided with his father-in-law,—eked out the small income required by literary drudgery,—compiled 'Annual Registers,'—abridged the History of England, wrote anonymously in the papers and the magazines. He then, by some accident unknown, got appointed Secretary to Gerard Hamilton, and was paid after the fashion of the day by a pension of 300*l.* a year,—quarrelled with Hamilton, and threw up the pension in 1765, as bound in conscience to do. In 1765 he became Secretary to Rockingham, and held office for a twelvemonth. In 1768 he bought Gregories!—and lived there ever after, in a style of unostentatious but noble hospitality.

Where could the money come from, even taking the lowest estimate? We strongly suspect that there is something which has never been told on this subject. The explanations given by Mr. Prior, and by other writers on this point, do not at all clear up the mystery. The statement about "20,000*l.* from his family at various times" is mere assertion. That his eldest brother (Garrett) was bred to his father's profession of an attorney is a simple fact, which shows that the Burkes had no superfluous thousands to start the younger brother as an estated gentleman in England. It could not be from the

Nagle family that he received these moneys, as the Nagles were far from being wealthy.

The mysterious way in which "William Burke" figures in the story of Edmund's life we have already alluded to. Where he came from, and how he pushed his fortunes we know not. He glides early, silently, and mysteriously into the narrative, and is at once friendly and familiar with everybody,—co-operating with and co-partner in all the fortunes and speculations of *the Burkes*, as they were afterwards and generally called. All the correspondence of the period refers to "the Burkes" in a singular manner. The position acquired by the Burkes, even before their entrance into Parliament, is also curious. They were on terms of confidential intercourse with the leaders of the aristocratic Whigs, and the tone of their whole correspondence is unlike that of mere pamphleteering allies. Their knowledge of "the town" in a larger sense than can be acquired by mere journalists, and their vigorous application to political business, along with the uncommon facility which they seem to have possessed of getting commercial knowledge, have always struck us as remarkable, when we remember how little root "the Irish interest" had then in England, and how difficult it was for Irishmen in their social grade to have pushed their way in the world of politics.

Can this mystery ever be cleared up? We will not undertake to say that it can, as it is admitted, and indeed proved, that Burke shrouded his affairs in "secrecy"—for which, possibly, he had good reasons of his own. That *the Burkes* were desperate gamblers in India and other stocks is, we think, capable of proof. That Edmund was one of the party is not proved. Yet, when we remember the close intimacy which from first to last existed between them all,—"one home, one purse,"—it would be strange if in this only instance they had divided interests. When Edmund abandoned his profession he must have looked to some means of livelihood, and he must have had more sense than to depend on the petty and precarious gains of literature. Referring to William Gerard Hamilton, the editors of the 'Burke Correspondence' say,—

"He (Edmund Burke) had, *in some way or other*, connected himself with that gentleman in or about the year 1759." Now, Hamilton, though a gentleman of good private fortune, was almost as much a political adventurer as Burke himself, and the correspondence between them is kept up in a singular manner. The terms on which Burke entered into the service of Hamilton are not accurately known, and it is impossible to read the letters of Burke relating to their quarrel without observing the peculiarity of tone in which their connexion is referred to. In writing to Hely Hutchinson and others, Burke refers to the "ministerial fortune,"—and in another place to "*the very great*" fortune which Hamilton had made during the six years that Burke had been connected with him. At that particular time there were facilities for official men and those connected with official men to realize vast sums of money by jobbing and gambling in the stocks, which scarcely now exist. It was not the salary, but the information of office which was then coveted by the speculators in politics. The fortunes then made by official men are matters of historical notoriety: and with our knowledge, we cannot help believing that, like other political and professional adventurers, the Burkes had "a friend in the City," and turned their knowledge to account. That Edmund Burke was deep in the mystery or iniquity of stock-jobbing was asserted over and over again in the contemporary journals. We could give dozens of examples,—but one may serve. The following is extracted from a letter which appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, October, 1771.—

"He [Edmund Burke] is engaged in a scheme, or rather conspiracy, with the old fat cub S——, in buying up lands at the Grenades, in order by chicane and tricks to get the lands from the present legal possessors and proprietors. P——ll, Lord Holland's man, and by his directions, assisted the brothers and their cousin, and the rest of the knot of knaves in their deep-laid schemes to raise the India-Stock. That is a history too well known to be entered into."

—"The brothers and their cousin"—that is, Edmund and

Richard, and William Burke;—"the fat cub S——" may have been Stuart, Macleane's Philadelphia partner, his intimate friend for life, and one who, on his own assertion, was seriously injured in fortune by Macleane's speculations.* Now, Macleane did buy "up land at the Grenades" to the extent, it was said, of two hundred thousand pounds—we refer to contemporary assertion for the amount: and Stuart and the Burkes may have been all joined in the speculation. We might fairly assume from the enormous amount said to have been invested, that the buying up these lands was a joint-stock affair; and it is reasonable to believe, that the friends who were subsequently engaged with him in gambling in India stock were co-partners in these land-gamblings:—we know, indeed, on the authority of his daughter, that General Monkton was associated with him. Why not the Burkes? Macleane, after effecting these purchases,—some for money, and "a great many more" on credit,—returned to England in, as we believe, the autumn of 1763; and it may have been to look after the interests of Macleane, Monkton & Co. that Richard Burke went out to Grenada in 1764—whether as a Government officer or not,—and "the affair of magnitude," the contested purchases, the disputed titles, which for so many years troubled the Burkes, may have originated in this first speculation, or may have grown out of it.

But who was "P—ll, Lord Holland's man"? Why, according to reasonable probability, Powell, the Cashier in the Paymaster-General's office, who was some years later dismissed for what was called malpractices; and because, when summoned before the House of Commons to give information as to Lord Holland's accounts, and the balance in his own hands, his evidence was evasive and unsatisfactory; and this, as the result proved, not merely to screen Lord Holland, but himself. We are stating the case from memory, but it will be found substantially correct. Now it is an astounding fact,

* Could Garrick have been in any way mixed up in these West Indian speculations? See a conjecture of Cradock (i., 221-2), which would lead to the inference that he lost many thousands by placing money on West Indian Securities.

that no sooner was Lord Rockingham in office in 1782, and Burke appointed Paymaster-General, than, in defiance of the open remonstrance of personal and political friends, Burke restored this man Powell to his former situation! Mr. Prior acknowledges that for this act Burke incurred considerable censure; but adds, after the Prior fashion, "all was conscience and tendre herte." It was an act, says Dr. Bisset, which exposed Burke to a great deal of detraction, and the Doctor honestly adds, that his conduct was open to objections, Burke not being infallible. Not a word have we from any of the biographers as to what there was in this case of Powell's to touch the infallibility of the infallible:—not a word to link the past with the present, or to explain the assertions made a dozen years before that Powell was a co-operating party with "the knot of knaves," "the brothers and their cousin," in gambling transactions at the India House.

In the West-end of London, amongst themselves, in their homes and home affections, the Burkes were a singularly united family:—in the east they were what is, in City parlance, called "a long company," and it would be difficult to say when or where the ramifications ended. It would be strange, indeed, if "they were divided" only in stock-jobbing,—and that the one who did not job was the man who was enabled to buy Gregories and live there all his life in a style of generous hospitality. That William and Richard Burke gambled in the stocks to a frightful extent is beyond doubt,—that the noble patron and friend of the Burkes, Lord Verney, was a partner in these speculations is proved by his own admissions; Dyer and Macleane gambled on every Bourse in Europe; and the probabilities are that General Monkton (an acknowledged partner in the land speculations), was also co-partner in the stock-jobbing;—for on the failure of the great brokers, De la Fontaine & Brymes, it appeared on a trial about a bill given by Monkton to Macleane, and discounted by these brokers, that they had on one occasion paid the General 3,000*l.* through Macleane; and on another, 10,000*l.* India stock by order of Macleane, through Hope & Co. of Amsterdam.

All went on prosperously and pleasantly up to the spring of

1769. The Burkes, William and Edmund, were both in Parliament for Lord Verney's boroughs. Edmund was pluming his feathers in the quiet luxuriance of his new purchase at Beaconsfield; Dyer had offered himself for Director of the India Company; and Macleane, now M.P. for Arundel, lived in a style that startled his friends. Then came "a frost, a killing frost." Here is a picture in little of the state of affairs in the summer of 1769.

Though Edmund Burke had but just bought Gregories, he was rich enough to hold India stock,—and he held that stock when the extraordinary fall in price took place in 1769, and brought ruin upon hundreds, *the Burkes* amongst the number. We find that at a meeting at the East India House, on the 1st of June, 1769, a letter was read, signed by Lord Verney, Mr. *E.* Burke, and seven other proprietors, "requesting, &c., that the directors, &c., would explain the causes of the prevailing rumours relating to affairs in India;"—and on the same day was issued an official circular from the directors, to the effect that "there was no real cause for the alarm." From the same page of the same paper, it appears that India Stock had fallen from 276¾ to 240,—or 36¾ in three months. Mr. Prior says there is no evidence amongst Edmund Burke's MSS. tending to show that he had gambled in the stocks. It was not likely there would be; but this is a fact—that only an inference—that his friends Macleane and Dyer, and his brother Richard, and William Burke and Lord Verney did gamble in the stocks, and were at one and the same time ruined by gambling in the stocks.

The following are extracts from unpublished letters* which we have ourselves seen, written by Charles Lloyd, private secretary to Mr. George Grenville. The first is dated 1st of June, 1769.—

"Every one's attention is engrossed by East India news. Near one million will be paid on Rescounters by the 16th July. Lauchlin Macleane, I hear, is absolutely ruined; Lord Shelburne is very deep; Lord Verney has paid 27 thousand on

* Those in the possession of Mr. Smith.

one bargain. *The Burkes are likely to be great sufferers.* Five per cent. is given for continuation till the next settling day. The stock was done at 233; yesterday and to-day before the opening of the Court 223. The accounts laid before the proprietors were said to be very unfavourable; but the Sullivan party made so light of it, and were so very confident, that stock afterwards rose, and finished to-day at 250. Lord Holland is selling out all he has in the India stock."

On the 15th of July, Lloyd wrote again:—

"India stock fell ten per cent. the day before yesterday. Yesterday it was done at 235. One broker who was to pay seventy thousand pounds differences is marched off, and will be followed by several more before Tuesday, the day of settling."

On the 25th of July:—

"Sir Laurence Dundas has lost forty thousand pounds in the late India scramble—Macleane, it is said, his all—*the Burkes were very deep in it.*"

On the 4th of August, again as follows.—

"Mr. Delafontaine, the great broker, has given up the names of *the Burkes* and Macleane, his employers in buying India for time. *They very honourably refuse paying a shilling, and the* TWO *former have shifted it off on Richard Burke.*"

In a letter from Mr. Whately, one of the Secretaries to the Treasury when Mr. Grenville was Minister, to George Grenville, of 2nd of August, 1769, is the following:—and Whately's brother, be it remembered, was a City banker,—and the very caution about names shows that he spoke with authority.—

"I find that on the opening of Mr. De la Fontaine's books, the *names of the Burkes stand against very large sums. Richard Burke,* 29,000*l. stock, upon which* 10,745*l. is the difference,—Richard Burke and S. Dyer,* 13,000*l. stock, upon which* 4,870*l. is the difference,—Richard Burke and William Burke,* 5,000*l., upon which* 1,900*l. is the difference:* but it is said, that Lord

Verney having a debt of 17,000*l.*, on Mr. De la Fontaine for money actually lent him, he sets up that demand against these differences. Mr. M'Leane's differences are reported to be 27,000*l.*, of which he offers to pay part and to give his bond to pay the rest contingently. Names on such occasions are not generally mentioned: I only tell them to you."

Terrible issues are here foreshadowed, and but too truly. Macleane was ruined,—the learned, amiable, and indolent Dyer was ruined; he died in 1772, and, Hawkins says, "left not in money or effects sufficient to defray the expense of a decent funeral." This mention of Dyer reminds us of an anecdote which has given rise to many conjectures,—but the facts we have stated seem to suggest a different interpretation.—

"A more remarkable circumstance [says Prior] was the *intrusion*, as it is said, of Mr. William Burke into his [Dyer's] lodgings after his death, and cutting up a great variety of papers into the smallest possible shreds (there being no fire at that season of the year to burn them), which were thickly strewed all over the room, to the great surprise of Sir Joshua Reynolds, one of the executors, who, entering soon after, and asking for an explanation, was informed, 'They were of great importance to him (Mr. Burke), but of none to any other person.'"

—Mr. Prior's comment ought to be—"there is no evidence amongst Dyer's MSS. tending to show that he had gambled in the stocks."

The Burkes, Richard and William at least, never recovered the losses sustained on this occasion; they struggled on, indeed, but it was no more than a struggle. Edmund, too, as could be shown, borrowed large sums of money from personal friends; and, as admitted, was never afterwards free from debt. No wonder that "poor Dick" with all his wit and his whim, was "wrangling and grumbling" while bent double with the yoke of "the city, the city" upon his neck. Lord Verney, too, the friend and patron of the Burkes, was ruined—"the

free and independent" were transferred like other chattels, and, in 1774, William Burke lost the protection of Parliament, and Edmund was transferred to Malton. Judgments were now entered up in the King's Bench, and "honest William" had, we fear, to fly the country. In a casual search made for another purpose, we stumbled on five of these sad judgments in one twelvemonth, and in one court—against William and Richard for 1,500*l.*—against Richard for 72*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*—against William for 1,760*l.*, 2,677*l.* 10*s.* and 1,616*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* There may have been dozens, for our notes were made carelessly, and without a purpose.

Painful moments these:—and William, the ex-M.P., *not* "fearing to roam" went off suddenly, in 1777, to Madras, a messenger bearing despatches to Lord Pigot! Edmund, his whole heart in every word of the letter, wrote recommending William to the protection of Philip Francis, then amongst the magnates in Calcutta.—

"Bring him home with you at his ease, under the protection of your opulence. You know what his situation has been, and what things he might have surely kept, and infinitely increased, if he had not had those feelings which make a man worthy of fortune. Remember he asks those favours which nothing but his sense of honour prevented his having it in his power to bestow. Let Bengal protect a spirit and a rectitude which are no longer tolerated in England."

—Brave words:—but the few facts known suggest a different comment.

William, in a letter to Francis, spoke of his position more plainly and simply.—

"The opportunity of coming with the despatches [he says] *was so sudden*, that I could avail myself of few recommendations. * * It looks almost ridiculous, *in the serious state of my affairs*, to tell you simply where I am, and yet it is all I can do. * * In a word, if Bengal promised present and certain advantage, I should not hesitate to take my part."

This, as he said subsequently, was the moment of his life

when he stood most in need of comfort. But before the generous reply of Francis could reach Madras, William had started for England as agent to the Rajah of Tanjore. He returned to Madras in 1779—was appointed Deputy Paymaster-General of the forces—continued there until 1793, and died in England in 1798.

The connexion of Lord Verney with the Burkes has ever been a mystery:—he was their friend as well as patron. Whether anything we have said has tended to throw a light on the subject we shall leave others to determine. It was for one of Lord Verney's boroughs that William was returned to Parliament;—to the "generous and disinterested friendship" of Lord Verney Edmund, as acknowledged, was indebted for a seat in the House. We have seen in Lloyd's letter of June and Whately's of August, 1768, his Lordship playing the generous and magnanimous. Subsequently, the exact relations of these parties came to issue in the Courts of Equity. About 1777 or 1778 Lord Verney filed a bill in Chancery against Edmund Burke.*—

"It was alledged by Lord Verney, that Burke, his brother, and cousin, had been engaged with him in a stock-jobbing speculation, by which very great loss had been incurred; that Lord Verney was the ostensible man, and had been obliged to make out the engagements; that Edmund Burke being the only one of the rest, who had any property, Verney had applied to him to defray his share of the debt. On refusal, he filed a bill against him in Chancery, claiming Burke as his partner. Burke making affidavit that he was not, the matter was, of course, concluded in Burke's favour."—*Bisset's Life.*

We cannot think that such conclusions ought to be "of course." The "positive oath of a man of character," says the biographer, "is certainly better evidence than vague rumour." No doubt of it; but these charges were positively and solemnly preferred by Lord Verney, and supported by "rumour;" and

* He certainly filed a bill against Edmund in 1783, and that, I suppose, is the bill referred to.

Bisset admits that "a great clamour arose against Burke for clearing himself in this manner."

Here we are content to take our leave. We have studiously avoided all the polemical questions associated with the public conduct of Edmund Burke, and have directed attention only to the shadow and the darkness that obscure his private life and fortunes—"his domestic life,"—and have said quite enough to show that there are mysteries which his biographers were bound to clear up. Burke was a literary adventurer so late as 1758, when he projected the 'Annual Register,' and undertook to write and compile the volume for an annual 100*l.* Within four or five years we find him, after his noble nature, the generous patron of indigent genius. With a munificence quite princely, he and William Burke sent Barry, as their pensioner, to Italy to pursue his studies; and Edmund became distinguished for his pecuniary liberality to Irish kith and kin and friends generally. Early in 1768, he had purchased Gregories mansion and estate and collections of statues and paintings—lived thenceforth as a country gentleman, with an occasional town residence—kept carriages, servants, and the best company, with a welcome for all distinguished persons, countrymen or foreigners; is, or was, remembered in the neighbourhood, says Mr. Jesse, for driving out with "four black horses to his carriage:"—and his widow sold the *reversion* of Gregories—for thousands, therefore, under its actual value—for 38,000*l.* Surely we have a right to expect some explanation of these circumstances from his biographers; and it rather whets the appetite than satisfies it, to talk of "the secrecy in which Burke kept his affairs." If, as one of these gentlemen ingenuously confesses, "personal and domestic circumstances impart the only true knowledge of character," there has been hitherto a terrible neglect of duty in respect to Edmund Burke.

From the *Athenæum*, February 17th, 1855.

The Life of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke. By James Prior. Fifth Edition. Revised by the Author. Bohn.

PRIOR'S 'Life of Burke' is the best we have,—though in itself, and in relation to its great subject, it is unsatisfactory. We do not understand the principle on which it has been written. It is manifest that Mr. Prior saw as clearly as other people what circumstances required elucidation, for he approached them with parade and professions which awakened interest. These, however, turned out to be mere flourishings —words and assertions—as if reference to a subject and Mr. Prior's opinion were all the reader could desire. Mr. Prior seems to regard the faithful portraiture of the man, less than the coherency of his own narrative and the self-consistency of his ideal hero. His fault is, that he thinks more of Mr. Prior than of Burke. To a certain extent this is a fault common to biographies; but we had few examples so startling as Mr. Prior's 'Life of Burke.' As a consequence, it is impossible to find therein satisfactory information on many of the vexed questions—incidents, circumstances, or relationship—in or in connexion with the life of Burke.

A dim light has broken upon us by the publication of this, the fifth, edition. Not that Mr. Prior has said anything to enlighten us—that is not his humour;—not that the reader of this fifth edition is forewarned that there are statements in it contrary to positive statements in preceding editions. Quite otherwise. Mr. Prior assures him, "in testimony of the care with which the work was originally written," that in the many volumes of contemporary men and history since published, "no incident that I have mentioned is contradicted and no new one added." Not one?

This may be true; "incident" is a vague word, and may be largely or narrowly interpreted. If it mean, as will be inferred, that Mr. Prior has seen no reason to alter any of his opinions or qualify any of his statements, then Puck must have

taken the manuscript after it had been "revised" by the biographer, and, with especial reference to this self-congratulatory announcement, made changes, which, though innocent in themselves, must be annoying to Mr. Prior. Some of these humorous contradictions are inserted with delicacy and skill, others in wantonness of spirit. A word, a sentence, a mere parenthetical paragraph occasionally runs counter not merely to an "incident," but contradicts and confuses facts, opinions, and pages of argument.

One purpose, manifest enough in former biographies and in former editions of Mr. Prior's work, was to create an impression that Edmund Burke was not, as often asserted, a literary or political adventurer, but the descendant of a long line of estated gentlemen—possibly, as Mr. Peter Burke would have us believe, "a descendant of an off-shoot of Clanricarde," himself a descendant of one of the rough-shod, iron-clad companions of Strongbow. Dr. Bisset, indeed, told us, on the authority of that extraordinary gossip, or worse, Dr. Laurence (Burke's executor), that Burke's grandfather possessed a landed estate of 3,000*l.* a year, which was confiscated! The facts, indeed, when scrutinized, amounted only to a traditional Burke or Bourke, an assumed Mayor of Limerick, and some evidence, which seemed to us reasonable, tending to show that Edmund had a great-grandfather. Then there was a talk about contemporary slander and party misrepresentation, and the reader was to infer from it that literature was not a necessity of Burke's early life, but its grace and ornament,—that "to accept the reward was not to be in want of it,"—that Burke's father "allowed him 200*l.* per annum, at that time a liberal sum," and dying left "a considerable provision" for all his children; in brief, and on "unquestionable authority," as Mr. Prior called it, with the superadded supererogatory authority of the eternal Dr. Laurence, "that Mr. Burke received from his family at various times a sum little short of 20,000*l.*,—a larger patrimony than fell to Mr. Pitt," the son of Chatham,—and, as we will in candour acknowledge, greater than fell to Chatham, the father of Mr. Pitt.

We took leave, as our readers may remember [*Athen.*

Nos. 1363, 4], to laugh at these pretensions—to question even the "unquestionable." Mr. Prior laughed in return; as we infer from the announcement to which we have alluded, that no one incident in the whole of his life of Burke has been contradicted. This assertion will, we fear, make the joke which has been played off on him all the more painful, for hereafter we shall have Prior quoted against Prior,—a painful position for a man who prides himself on the impeccability of his work. We, indeed, except for our sympathy with Mr. Prior, might rejoice, for Puck has not only followed our hints, but without scruple has made this fifth edition contradict all the preceding editions and confirm our speculations. Thus, in the new version of this patrimonial story, Mr. Pitt has fallen out of comparison altogether,—Dr. Laurence does not even appear on the scene,—and Burke himself is brought to prove that the allowance from his father, "did not *exceed* one hundred,"—which allowance, we would remind Mr. Prior, the father soon discontinued. To contradict the "unquestionable," Burke certifies, under his own hand, that his father died worth "*very near* six thousand pounds,"—which, if it were divided equally, and of this we have doubts, and if there were no more than four children living, as Mr. Prior asserts, would give Edmund a trifle above or about 1,400*l.*! As to the estate of inheritance, the patrimonial estate—Clohir—which we were told was the estate of "the great-grandfather," and which, "*continuing in the Burke family*," came into the possession of Edmund in 1765 on the death of his elder brother, we have a few parenthetical words of great significance, which hint at possibilities heretofore hinted at in the *Athenæum*, for the phrase now runs, "continuing *or being repurchased by the Burke family*." This makes a vast difference. The fact is, that Garrett Burke, the brother of Edmund, obtained possession of this property under circumstances which gave rise to very angry feelings and litigation, and some time after Edmund had been in possession, he was appealed to by friends who assumed that he could not be aware of the "rights and sufferings" of the person—a relation—who had been deprived of it, or of his interest in it.

Another opinion which we heretofore hazarded was a possibility that the shadowy, indistinct, ever-present, unknown William Burke was the first of the kith or kin that floated to the surface. We showed that William was early and intimately connected with Lord Verney,—a borough proprietor, who had at that time great interest with the Minister; and we thought it probable, from many circumstances, that Edmund was indebted to William for the helping hand which first brought him forward—procured for him the appointment of private secretary to Rockingham and a seat in Parliament. Mr. Prior thought differently—thinks differently—for, after his formal disclaimer, we cannot hold him responsible for the contradictions in this fifth edition. Mr. Prior told us that,—

"through the recommendation of several friends, *particularly Mr. Fitzherbert*, Mr. Burke received the appointment of private secretary to that nobleman [Lord Rockingham]; * * that by an arrangement with Lord Verney he came immediately into Parliament for Wendover."

We now learn from this fifth edition that,—

"through the recommendation of friends, particularly Mr. William Burke [!], *as Edmund more than once said*, he received the appointment of private secretary to that nobleman [Lord Rockingham]; * * that by an arrangement with Lord Verney, for which he was, *as he said himself*, indebted *to William Burke*, he came immediately into Parliament as Member for Wendover."

There are, as we showed long since, numberless other mysteries about Burke. After the admissions in this fifth edition—the vast reduction made in the amount of the personal and real property which Burke received from his family—there will be no offence, we hope, in assuming that in 1761 Burke was a struggling man of letters—willing to undertake any literary drudgery—to abridge a history of England, or write and compile a volume of the 'Annual Register'—for the "reward" of one hundred pounds. Yet in three or four years—in 1765—he, with the help of William Burke, became the generous patron of Barry, the painter, whom he sent to Italy,

defraying all expenses; and in 1768 he purchased the estate of Gregories, and gave for it, as Mr. Prior says, "*above* 20,000*l.*"; and he lived there ever after, keeping up the customary establishment of carriages, horses, and servants. Now, where did this money come from? Heretofore, Mr. Prior told us—

"a *considerable* part *undoubtedly* was his own, *the bequest of his father* and elder brother."

This fifth edition has reduced the father's noble to ninepence; and now the unchanged and unchangeable text of Mr. Prior reads:—

"*A part* undoubtedly was his own, the bequest of his elder brother, and *some portion* [it] *is believed came from William Burke.*"

It is curious, considering the changes that have come over this explanation, that the "undoubtedly" should maintain its place with the same modest assurance as before. We must further observe, that as Edmund Burke did not part with the little property at Clohir, bequeathed to him by his brother, for five-and-twenty years or more, we do not see how the bequest could have helped in this purchase of Gregories. As to the advance now assumed, or "believed" to have been derived from William Burke, it would not, if admitted, solve the difficulty; for the money must have been repaid in 1769—the next year—when William, as heretofore shown [No. 1364], was ruined, and eventually forced to fly the country.

There is, in fact, no end to the mysteries in the life of all the Burkes, which only become greater mysteries by the admissions and revelations of this fifth edition. We had read heretofore that Richard Burke possessed certain property, and of "magnitude," in the West Indies:—a circumstance almost as extraordinary as the purchase of Gregories by Edmund. We knew, indeed, that when Monckton took the command of the expedition against Martinique in 1761, Burke's friend, Macleane, embarked with him as a sort of secretary or contractor; and that it was reported, on seemingly good authority,

that Macleane contrived in a short time, and by questionable means, to accumulate a large fortune; and that all he made, and all he could raise on credit, to the extent, it was said, of two hundred thousand pounds, he invested in the purchase of lands in Grenada from the French inhabitants, who were allowed by treaty to sell and withdraw. We knew that in 1769 Macleane and Richard and William Burke were ruined by gambling in India stock, and Monckton and Lord Verney and other of their friends then or soon after:—we knew there was a report that the Burkes' friend, Garrick, lost about that time a large sum of money which he had been tempted to advance on mortgage of lands in some of the conquered colonies; and we had come to the conclusion that possibly Richard, by some sort of legal process, had been put into possession of some of these estates,—that by his personal presence he might save something for mortgagees or joint speculators. Such vague and inconclusive speculations were forced on us by the no-information of the preceding editions of Mr. Prior's work. Some light—there are lights that mislead—has now penetrated the obscurity. Heretofore, we were simply told that—"In this year [1770], Mr. Richard Burke revisited Grenada"; to which is now added, "and made a purchase of property in St. Vincents." It seems strange that a man ruined in 1769 should be the purchaser of property, and Burke said, of "magnitude," in 1770,—still more strange that he should revisit Grenada just when he had made his purchase in St. Vincents. So it was—at least, so we are told. Strange that a biographer should, after so many years, obtain this exact information—time and place—and no more. We wonder at the knowledge: —still more, at the want of knowledge.

The *Athenæum* also ventured to ask for information as to the relationship of the many Burkes found in immediate connexion with Edmund. Mr. Prior now, incidentally, touches on the subject. For the first time, he refers to the story told by the late President of the Academy, of his "meeting," as Mr. Prior reports it, "with a monk named Burke, bearing *some resemblance* to Edmund." This story, says Mr. Prior, if true,—this "some resemblance" "could be only accidental.

None of the family or its earliest connexions knew any other than the three brothers." Here is an odd sort of *non sequitur* refutation. Mr. Prior must have been thinking of something else when he wrote it,—perhaps of what the President *did* say —which we take to be very different from what is above reported, although our authority is the same as that referred to by Mr. Prior. What Galt records is this:—that Mr. West, late in 1763, or early in 1764, within a few months of his leaving Italy, met Edmund Burke at dinner at Dr. Markham's."—

" On being introduced to Burke, he was so much surprised by the resemblance which that gentleman bore to the chief of the Benedictine monks at Parma, that when he spoke he could scarcely persuade himself he was not the same person. This resemblance was not accidental; the *Protestant orator was*, indeed, the *brother of the monk*. It always appeared to Mr. West that there was about Mr. Burke a degree of mystery, connected with his early life, which their long intercourse never tended to explain."

—Mr. Prior's " some resemblance " is, we submit, a very diluted version of this story.

The mystery about Burke's *early* life, be it remembered, continued through life, and was prepared for even after death; for Burke, the last survivor of the family, must have collected, as far as possible, and destroyed, every letter, paper and document that could help us to a conclusion. Of all the letters that passed between father, mother, brothers and sister at that period, only one fragment, we believe, remains, and that was rescued, we are told, from an unsuspected depository—the lining of an old arm-chair.

As, however, Mr. Prior has at last referred to this story, we ask on what authority he states that " none of the family or its earliest connexions knew any other than the three brothers "? Were any of the family or its earliest connexions living when this fifth edition was revised? Were any of them living when Mr. Prior was born? Mr. Prior, indeed, speaks of information obtained from Shackleton, Burke's school-

fellow, with "whom frequent correspondence was maintained." But surely there must be some mistake here—at least no such correspondence could have been obtained by Mr. Prior, for Richard Shackleton died before Burke, in 1792. The best answer would have been the burial certificates of the children, fourteen or fifteen in all; and as we know the place of residence of the father, these might have been obtained without much difficulty. Mr. Prior knows the value of such evidence;—he travels all the way to Castletown, diocese of Cloyne, to procure a copy of the baptismal register of Mrs. French, Burke's sister: why not have stopped on his way at Dublin, and given us copies of the burial registers of the brothers? Such certificates might help to prove many things. Mr. Prior knows that the assertions about the Benedictine brother are quite consistent with contemporary assertions about the religion of the Burke family:—he knows that Burke's mother was a Catholic,—his sister "a rigid Roman Catholic,"—that Dr. Nugent, whose daughter Burke married, was a Catholic,—that it was formally reported, over and over again, that Burke himself had been a Roman Catholic, and on such authority that the Duke of Newcastle remonstrated against his appointment as secretary to Rockingham,—that Musgrave, who, so far from being an enemy, avowed a profound respect for the "exalted moral and intellectual" character of Burke, believed it, and gave a circumstantial account of his conversion.—

"Soon after he [Edmund Burke] went to the Temple to study the law, he married a daughter of Doctor Nugent, who had been bred at Douay in Flanders, and was a most bigoted Romanist. A year after he had gone to the Temple, Mr. Griffith, who was at that time serving his apprenticeship to Mr. Burke's father, informed me, that his master sent him to London, relative to some law business, and that Mr. Edmund Burke detained him many days longer than he had permission to remain there: that during his stay, he seemed much agitated in his mind, and that, when they were alone, he frequently introduced religion as a topick of conversation, and said, that he had strong reasons for thinking more favourably of the Romish persuasion than he formerly did. For these

reasons, this gentleman assured me, he verily believed, that he was become a convert to popery. Soon after this gentleman's return, Mr. Burke, senior, having heard a report that his son had really changed his religion, was much concerned at it; because he had entertained the most sanguine hopes that he would acquire great wealth and fame at the Irish bar, from practising at which Romanists were excluded by law. He therefore employed Mr. Bowen, his brother-in-law, who, as a linen merchant, had a very extensive correspondence in London, to make strict enquiry about the conversion of his son. Some days after, Mr. Bowen entered his office, and in the presence of the gentleman who gave me this information, threw him a letter, saying, There, your son is most certainly become a Roman Catholick. On reading the letter, Mr. Burke became furious, lamenting that the rising hope of his family was blasted, and that the expence he had been at in his son's education was now thrown away."

Musgrave attributes this change to love for Miss Nugent.

Now, no matter what the motive, such conversions and reconversions are not so exceptional as to excite especial wonder. Burke's assumed conduct agrees exactly with the conduct of Gibbon,—and all we desire is to know the truth. The anxious silence and suppressions of Burke,—the studied silence of the biographers,—leave us at the mercy of the wildest speculator. There are some years of Burke's life, at the very period referred to, about which we hear nothing, see nothing, know nothing. The biographers are as silent as Burke himself. We glean for ourselves indeed, from scattered paragraphs, what seemingly agrees with Musgrave's story, that Burke, though always designed for the law, entered of the Temple, and, receiving an allowance from his father while a student there, was never called to the Bar;—that his father was incensed against him, and stopped his allowance;—that though Burke wrote a very dutiful letter of regret, and though the father sent him 100*l.* on the publication of the 'Essay on the Sublime,' the father was only reconciled by the intercession of Mr. Agmondisham Vesey, about a twelvemonth before he died;—and that some time or other in this unknown

period Burke did marry the daughter of Dr. Nugent. We know that Richard Shackleton, when that kind-hearted man volunteered his public defence of the character of Burke in the London newspapers,—Shackleton who had visited at Burke's house and been visited in Ireland by Burke and his wife,—spoke of Mrs. Burke as "a genteel, well-bred woman of the Roman faith," who "has since conformed legally to the Church of England." Mr. Prior tells us that this was a mistake,—that the daughter of the bigoted Romanist was a Calvinist. Possible, of course: but Burke did not say so. Burke, he tells us, wrote an angry letter to Shackleton,—strange that the letter is not published either by Mr. Prior or in the 'Memoir of Shackleton,'—"stating that his table and bed, hitherto sacred, had been for the first time wantonly forced before the public; his life or conduct required no defence; he was accustomed to libels daily and twice a day; and it was great imprudence or worse in others to notice such things, as he never descended to do so himself." Hard and somewhat unfeeling this to his old schoolfellow and volunteer advocate; but here is no word about the mischievous mistake in calling Mrs. Burke a Roman Catholic. Surely Mr. Prior's assertion cannot determine this question. Whether Burke had for a moment gone over to the Catholic Church,—whether Miss Nugent was at the time of her marriage a Catholic or a Calvinist,—might, perhaps, be shown by the marriage certificate; but the biographer neither produces it himself nor helps others to find it. Of this influential incident in Burke's life Mr. Prior simply tells us that he was married at Bath, and leaves it to be inferred that it must have been in the year 1757 or 1758. Are we to understand that Mr. Prior does not know when they were married,—that he has not taken the trouble to search the registers,—or that he has searched and cannot find the record? If the latter, the fact would be significant, and ought to have been recorded.*

* I am informed by Mr. Thoms that the registers have been searched, and that no record of such marriage is to be found therein. I in consequence got the registry of Marylebone searched, but no record. In consequence of this notice, application was made to the *Catholic* registers at Bath; and I am this day in-

Here, again, we are perplexed, as at starting, to know how to distinguish between jest and earnest in this new edition. Mr. Prior tells us, or leaves us to infer, that he has seen no reason to change any of his opinions: yet we find—in this fifth edition—that the many pages in proof that Junius was an Irishman and Burke Junius—by far the best argued question throughout the work—are gone! It was all, we are now told, a mere speculative pleasantry, inserted to humour one of Mr. Burke's "relatives." Mr. Prior had no faith in his own argument! Is this fact or fiction? Is Mr. Prior in earnest now, or was he in earnest in the four preceding editions? Is it Mr. Prior that is speaking, or Mr. Puck? Fortunately, we are not called on to solve these riddles. Finding ourselves puzzled and perplexed, we shall end, as we began, with an acknowledgment that Prior's 'Life of Burke' is the best we have,—and a word of regret that it is not better. The original work was the worse for the influence of the "relative" referred to, and this fifth edition is all the worse for its pretension to sufficiency and consistency.

From the *Athenæum*, December 22, 1860.

History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke. By Thomas Macknight. Vol. III. (Chapman and Hall.)

In this volume Mr. Macknight brings to a close his biography of Burke. We have already given our opinion of the work; and we have nothing to add by way of general comment, except that the volume before us is certainly equal if not superior to its predecessors. If the reader do not object to an oratorical style, and a somewhat pompous manner of dealing with all incidents, great or small, he will find Mr. Macknight's narrative not without interest; and we accept

formed by Mr. Thoms that "there are no Catholic registers at Bath earlier than Lord George Gordon's time, when the chapel was burnt."—March, 1855.

its author's statement, that it has "employed all the laborious hours of more than eight years." This, however, is all that we can say in Mr. Macknight's praise. The points in his hero's private life which are really of interest he leaves untouched; nor do the records of Burke's public career, which he has diligently brought together and interwoven with his rapturous commentary, yield anything that is new,—the only exception which we have found in the present volume being the few short notes from Burke to a clerk of his son Richard, whom the father occasionally employed in copying his manuscripts or in communicating with the printers. These are of little interest; but the following will serve as a specimen, and show the new sort of friends who had begun to look with impatience for a pamphlet from "Monsieur Burke"—the pamphlet now in the press being the 'Appeal from the Old to the New Whigs':—

"Dear Swift,—I thank you for your attention to the work. I am sorry the edition was so large as two thousand. But if it should have any probability of getting to another, let me know it, as I wish to make a few corrections. Send me down three or four copies more. Send one from the author to Lord Mansfield, General Conway, and the French General, No. 6, Suffolk Street. The English General lives in Warwick Street, Charing Cross. The Duchess of Biron and the Countess Boufflers live at Richmond. Send one to Mons. Caumertin, at Grenier's Hotel, Jermyn Street.—Yours sincerely,

"EDMUND BURKE."

Mr. Macknight favours us in his concluding chapter with a comment on "certain charges against Burke's memory," which, he tells us, have "lately been made," and "on which his biographer would probably be accused of a neglect of duty if he were not to say a few words." If any charges have been made which ought not to have been made, it was Mr. Macknight's duty to defend his hero—to disprove the facts stated, or deny the inference. We were, therefore, about to read eagerly, but were startled to find him open his defence with a plea *ad misericordiam*,—with the observation, that "there is much

that appeals to the best feelings of our nature in the old proverb, which tells us to speak nothing but good of the dead." Does Mr. Macknight act upon this amiable principle? Is he always tender towards Hastings, indulgent towards Sheridan, apologetic over Lord Auckland, Dr. Markham, Erskine, Law, Thurlow, or the Duke of Norfolk? charitable towards Gerard Hamilton? When Eden joined Pitt and was sent ambassador to France, we read of him as "the renegade" of the class who "endure much for money," though modern readers would, we suppose, regard the Commercial Treaty which he went to negotiate as, at least, as useful an object as the war with that country, which Burke so vehemently recommended. Again, we are informed that "duplicity and servility were written" on Eden's "refined and intelligent features," and that "being by nature a slave, he had managed to drag along complacently with him a gilded chain." So when Burke agrees with Wilberforce all is well; but when Wilberforce disagrees with Burke he is sneered at as "the earnest, moral, and conscientious Wilberforce"; and, in like manner, Sheridan, apparently for no reason but because he adhered to his principles, or, at all events, to his party, and opposed Burke in his new character of public indicter of "a whole people," is denounced throughout this volume. It would be contrary to Mr. Macknight's theory to ask on what authority he asserts that Sheridan had no political knowledge—no political principles, and why, under such circumstances, he died without receiving a pension of 4,000*l.* a year? But with Mr. Macknight the *nil nisi bonum* applies only to men of great genius. Yet is not Sheridan, whose speech on Hastings's trial is admitted to have surpassed all eloquence on that occasion, and who wrote the finest comedy for a century, entitled in some degree to this respect and reverence? So men may be censured or commended: the wrong is to ask why. Burke, his biographer tells us, was as ardent a patriot as Sydney—more honest, we suppose,—though Sydney's patriotism brought him to the block, and Burke's to the pension list; for Burke, we are also told, "took no money of a foreign king." This is a refined distinction. Bribery, we supposed, was bribery. The

word means, an abandonment of principle for money; but so far as Sydney was concerned, does not Mr. Macknight know that the fact of taking money at all is unproved? So far as Burke is concerned there is no doubt—call the money what you will. The questions at issue in respect to Burke require explanation, as Mr. Macknight admits, and, therefore, we suppose he does not explain, but pleads *nil nisi.*

Mr. Macknight's practice is to assert and assume; ours, to ask for explanations from professed biographers. The *Athenæum* asked how the man who, up to 1767, was in "straitened circumstances," and who had been content to fulfil the drudging duties of editor of Dodsley's Register for a salary of 100*l.* a year, was, in 1768, suddenly enabled to purchase an estate, of which his widow sold the reversion for 38,000*l.*, to live in a mansion "within twenty-four miles of London," which "looked like a royal residence on a small scale," and to drive about with four black horses to his carriage? Mr. Macknight is angry that critics should dwell upon these facts, which he accuses them of having "eagerly brought forward"; but the facts were brought forward, not by critics, but by admiring biographers, who, till lately, were too rapturous over this scene of magnificence to perceive the puzzling questions which it suggests. Mr. Macknight is now anxious to reduce the magnificence to a minimum: four horses, in that country of "steep hills" and bad roads, were no more, he tells us, than country gentlemen of that day in the neighbourhood of Beaconsfield were accustomed to drive. But this only shows that riding about in Buckinghamshire was, in that day, necessarily expensive.* If Mr. Macknight found labourers in the fens of Lincolnshire daily indulging in draughts of old Burgundy, he might possibly attribute it to the necessities of an unwholesome situation; but critics might still be curious to know how Lincolnshire labourers were enabled to indulge in so costly an antidote. Let the reader remember that, as regards

* After his son's *death*—after the payment of his debts, when he said he had but a few years or months to live—2,500*l.* a year was enough for "his personal ease," without change of life, &c. He had then retired from Parliament, from London, &c. See Stanhope's "Life of Pitt."

Burke, these are not trifling questions. Mr. Macknight sneers at all attempts to pry into the "private ledger" of a departed great man; but the pecuniary affairs of Burke had too close a relation with his public life to be set aside after this fashion. Such an inquiry is not mere idle curiosity. Readers cannot forget that something on this subject has already been divulged, that facts have been adduced, not by the cynical or the critical, but by enthusiastic biographers; which have not been, and apparently cannot be, reconciled with the supposition of Burke being an honest man. If Mr. Macknight believes that they can be so reconciled, to pry into Burke's private ledger ought to be the most ardent of his desires. He himself has sketched out one aspect of the account—the no assets of 1767. Can he expect that his readers when they come to the subsequent events of Burke's life, will not desire further particulars?

We have asked the biographers to reconcile other circumstances which appear to be equally irreconcilable—to tell us why Burke, in 1772, voted in favour of repealing the Test Act —why so late as 1789 he wrote to Fox in favour of Priestley, and recommending the former to conciliate the Dissenters; and when in the same Session, or the same year, Fox brought in a like Bill, and when, as we say, and as Mr. Macknight admits, Burke ought to have supported Fox—why he voted against the Bill? His hatred of Priestley, the very man in whose favour he had pleaded only a short time before, and whose dedication to the Prince of Wales Burke recommended should be accepted, is no explanation. If the "unusual agitation on the Continent" had inspired the English Dissenters with new hopes; so also, as Mr. Macknight admits, it had "encouraged the Roman Catholics of Ireland to persevere in their endeavours to obtain complete emancipation for themselves and for their country." How, then, was Burke justified in voting against relief to the one, and for relief to the other? If time and circumstances were sufficient to justify the change in Burke's views in the one case, may we not ask whether his son's appointment as the paid "professional adviser" of the Irish agitators did not affect the other? *Post hoc* need not be *propter hoc;* but there are sequences of events which it is not

easy for the mind to disconnect. Again, if the "worst of all evils" in Burke's opinion "was the interference of foreigners in the domestic affairs of any State," how are we to reconcile this with the subsequent insane ravings for interference in the domestic affairs of France? When Pitt was for a peace, and Auckland for "peace, trade and economy,"—why such an outcry about a "regicide peace"?

It is absurd to attempt to conceal the fact that, from his outset in life, even long before he made the mysterious purchase of Gregories to its melancholy close, Burke's conduct was influenced by the state of his private fortune—his debts and his difficulties. Before the last great change, he was ruined beyond redemption. He called on his old friend, Dr. Brocklesby, and must have told him so, for Brocklesby gave him 1,000*l.*, and hoped to be able to repeat it every year "till his merit was rewarded by the Court." There must have been fearful distress and difficulties before the estated gentleman could have accepted this direct pecuniary relief; and we cannot overlook the strange prophetic future, the reward anticipated "from the Court" in favour, be it remembered, of Burke, whose paid advocacy of the cause of the rebellious colonists, and whose more recent and more clamorous demand for an unrestricted Regency were not likely to be forgotten by King George the Third. The pecuniary misery at that time is visible everywhere and in everything;—and when even his brother and his son were dead, and there were no claimants on him, his debts overshadowed and oppressed him. When he made his will he knew not what he had to leave. "My debts," he said, "are very great." The son was aware of his position and of his poverty. For him, Mr. Macknight tells us, "the present was dark, and the future looked darker." Burke had no prospect of relief either from Opposition or from Ministers. His furious orations on the Regency Bill met with so little favour from the Prince of Wales that Burke's name was omitted in the lists of the New Cabinet which was expected to be formed; and that Burke knew this, and "although ostensibly acquiescing in it, could not but feel mortified," Mr. Macknight tells us there is no reason to doubt.

Such was Burke's position immediately before his great change. Why, then, we ask, if Eden, with a numerous family, as stated, is to be denounced as a renegade who sold himself—if he did sell himself, when a young man for a temporary employment—why is it contrary to high feelings, or generous feelings, to raise a doubt whether Burke might not have been influenced by the prospective fulfilment of Brocklesby's prophecy—by "the Court" granting him a pension of 1,200*l.* a year, which he sold the hour the warrant was signed, or before, to pay his debts; and by 2,000*l.* a year pension for his own life and his wife's? Burke, indeed, said, when questioned, that the pension might be beyond his merits, but "not beyond his debts."* It may be that these things are in no way connected; but that Burke's sudden change rescued him from otherwise inevitable ruin, is as certain as the gigantic mischief which resulted from his intemperate counsels is now apparent.

EDMUND BURKE.

From *Notes and Queries*, March 1st, 1862.

Some years since inquiries were made in "N. & Q." about Edmund Burke and his relations, which, I regret to say, have not been answered. We have memoirs of Burke out of number, and yet of facts relating to his early life, and to his family, there are not half a dozen that will bear the test of examination. Incredible as it may appear, we know not when or where he was born, where baptized, or where married. Some of his biographers tell us that he was born in the county of Cork; others in the city of Dublin. Some lead us to infer that he was married at Bath; others at Marylebone: but search has been made through the registers of both, without success. We know little more of his father—neither where or when he was born, or baptized. We are told indeed that he

* See account in Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," since published, which proves it to have been a *bargain*, and Burke made further demands, which were complied with.

was married at Mallow "about 1725 or 1726;" but the "about" is proof that the biographers know nothing.

My attention has been again directed to this subject by reading in a privately printed work, written by a distinguished Irishman, the late General Sir G. Cockburn, that Burke was born in the county of Cork. This agrees with a circumstantial memoir published in the *Evening Post* in 1770, and written probably by one of the Burkes—certainly by some one intimately acquainted with Edmund; and Sir James Prior admits that Edmund Burke passed some years at Castle Town Roche, had always a partiality for the place, and that while at college he wrote a poem on the Blackwater, which runs near the spot. Yet Sir James says, undoubtingly, that he was born in Dublin on the 1st of Jan. (O. S.) 1730. This, in respect to place, seems borne out by the register of Trin. Coll., where he is described as "natus Dublin." But is that conclusive? I think not, for the point was of little importance, and may have been assumed consequent on the father's residence at the time of entry. The assertion as to the precise date is followed in the last edition of Prior's *Life* by an acknowledgment that some persons are of opinion from the entry in the matriculation books, that he was born in 1728. It is certainly difficult to reconcile the entry "1743, annum agens 16," the monumental inscription "died on the 9th of July, 1797, aged 68 years," the fact that he was entered of the Middle Temple, London, on the 23rd of April, 1747, with his asserted birth in 1730. But the acknowledgment that "some persons" are of a different opinion again shows that we have no proof. Yet Edmund Burke could not have been born much earlier, if other statements by Sir James be correct; for the father married, he says, "about the year 1725 or 1726;" and Garret, we know, was an elder brother, and Juliana an elder sister, and it is possible that some one or more of the ten or eleven children who, we are told, "died young," may have been born before Edmund. Are there not registers at Mallow, Protestant and Catholic? There certainly are at Castle Town Roche, for the following is given by Sir James as an extract from "the church registers:"

"Juliana, daughter of Richard and Mary Burke, baptized, 1728. Godfather, Edward Fitton. Godmothers, Mary Dunworth, Mary Nayler."

This is apparently a literal transcript; yet is it not strange that there should be no record of either the month, or the day of the month? And is it not more strange that this daughter, brought up a Catholic, and all her life a Catholic, was baptized at the Protestant Church, and is the only one of fourteen or fifteen children who, so far as appears, was baptized at all?

All indeed that I can collect from the biographers, and this is open to serious objection, is that Edmund had a great-grandfather, who resided at Castle Town Roche, near Mallow, in the county of Cork,—incidentally that he had a grandfather, who also resided at Castle Town,—and that his father was "a Protestant, educated for an attorney." In the earlier edition, Sir James said that the father resided "for some time" in Limerick, whence he removed to Dublin. "Some time," however, is omitted in the last edition; the truth being that Sir James merely followed Dr. Bisset, and that there is not, so far as I can discover, a tittle of evidence to show that Burke's father ever set foot in Limerick. That he never practised there as an attorney, as might be inferred, is certain from Burke's letter to Shackleton in 1766—"My father never did practice in the country, but always in the superior courts." The only trace of the father before he settled in Dublin is in the neighbourhood of Castle Town Roche: he there became attached, we are told, to "a juvenile acquaintance," Miss Nagle, who resided in that neighbourhood; he married her at Mallow; his daughter Juliana was there baptized, and there Edmund passed some years of his early life.

If Burke's shadowy grandfather, or great-grandfather could be shown to have had more sons than one, it might explain the relationship of the many Burkes we meet with among Burke's intimates in London—with the well-known William—with Burke of Serjeant's Inn, with Burke of the Temple, and others. Another of the family has just made his appearance in the autobiography of Mrs. Delany. Dr. Delany's settlement on

his first wife had been drawn by Mr. Burke, a London lawyer. The original settlement had been destroyed, and it became necessary to procure secondary evidence of its contents; but Mr. Burke was at the time in Jamaica, and died in 1752 on his voyage home. It then appeared that this Burke had been tenant to Ward the bookseller, who had seized for rent all Mr. Burke's effects, and in consequence Dr. Delany employed "Mr. Burke of Serjeant's Inn," *relation* of Mr. Burke of Jamaica.

Is there no one in Castle Town, or Mallow, or Dublin sufficiently interested in this subject to give us the benefit of a little local research among the registers, Protestant and Catholic? Unfortunately the surname is very common, and I cannot discover the Christian name of either his grandfather or great-grandfather, or of his grandmothers, or of any one of the "ten or eleven" brothers or sisters, or where any of these people were born or baptized, married or buried.*

The mysteries and perplexities which beset the inquirer into the private life of Edmund Burke would form by far too wide a subject even for a double number of "N. & Q." These specimens, however, arising upon the very threshold of our biographies are curious, and may perhaps tempt some who have leisure and opportunities to further investigation.

E. B. S. [Mr. Dilke.]

From *Notes and Queries*, 3 S. i. 161.

There can be no doubt as to the interest which attaches to the questions asked by your correspondent, but the research cannot, I fear, be sufficiently defined to give us much hope of a successful result. Other questions, however, may easily be solved by any intelligent gentleman residing in Dublin: for example, how his brother Garrett became possessed of the estate at Clohir, and what were the grounds for the suit or

* A correspondent M.P. (N. & Q. 3 S. i. 277) writes to say that the registers at *Mallow* only extend back about eighty years, whether for baptisms or marriages.

action for the recovery of that estate by Robert Nagle or Nangle. Nothing on this important subject can be collected from the biographers. Sir G. Cockburn, in the pamphlet to which your correspondent referred, gives an unfavourable account of the transaction :—

"To elude the persecuting rigour of the penal laws in Ireland, a Roman Catholic family made over their estate in trust to a brother of Mr. E. Burke's, a practising attorney in Dublin; but he thought proper to avail himself of their confidence, claimed and held the estate for himself, and bequeathed it to his elder brother.

"Mr. O'Connor was employed by this unfortunate family to carry on a suit in the Irish Exchequer to recover this estate. But as the rigid letter of the law was decidedly against their claims, Mr. O'Connor appealed to Mr. Burke's humanity in their favour. He candidly acknowledged the cruelty and injustice of the penal laws, and fairly and liberally owned that he would with conscientious pleasure restore the estate, if he did not apprehend that his doing so would throw an indelible stain on his brother's memory. The following epigram on Mr. Burke's answer was written at that time, about 1773 [1777 ?] by Counsellor Harwood :—

"'Fraternal love inspires good Edmund's breast,
Of his dear virtue hear this glorious test—
He writes, declaims in mild Religion's cause,
Yet he's enriched by fraud and penal laws.
He 'gainst his conscience beggars a whole race,
To save a brother's memory from disgrace;
Rather than blast the generous donor's fame,
From him he heirs the profit, cheat, and shame;
Sarcastic truth with calm contempt he braves,
And from pure virtue shines the first of—knaves.'"

A like charge was preferred against the Burkes while Edmund was living, in the *Rape of Pomona*, by Mr. Coventry, afterwards M.P.

The general truth of these statements is strengthened by a letter from Edmund Burke, dated 9th Dec. 1777, and which may have been the reply to Mr. O'Connor. This letter—one

of great interest—was published by Sir James Prior, but is not to be found in the last edition of his *Life of Burke.*

Here are serious charges, in which I, for one, am unwilling to place implicit confidence. Will some of your Dublin correspondents obligingly give us the authentic facts from the official records?—T. C. B. [Mr. Dilke.]

From *Notes and Queries,* 3 S. i. 212.

I agree with your correspondent that our ignorance respecting Edmund Burke and his family is quite startling. Even the few facts which he seems willing to receive are not proved. I am afraid that I cannot help to clear up the mystery, but I noticed some time since a fact respecting some Burke of one of the many Castle Towns which may be worth notice. Thus, in the list of claims entered at Chichester House, Dublin, before 10th August, 1700; that is, Claims on Forfeited Estates, is one—

"No. 1020. By John and Thomas Bourke for mortgage in fee for £1000 on lands in Castle Town, Cy. Galway, Barony of Longford, late in the possession of John Burke."

And one of the witnesses to the lease and release, dated July, 1700, is "William Nangle."

If this association of names and facts—of Burkes, Nangles, Castle Town, and penal laws, have nothing to do with our Burkes, Nangles, Castle Town, and penal laws, it is a very remarkable coincidence.—J. A. W. [Mr. Dilke.]

From *Notes and Queries,* 3 S. i. 221.

I rejoice that a spirit is at last aroused about Edmund Burke, which must, I think, result in some information, be it more or less. But it is not quite fair to call upon Irishmen to lend us assistance until we have given good evidence that

we are willing to help ourselves. Now it struck me, on reading your late papers, that some questions of interest might perhaps be answered in London better than in Dublin; and that we might, by a search in our Record Office, learn something of the true grounds of the Bill in Chancery filed by Lord Verney against Edmund Burke about which we have heard much, and know very little. The stories told, or hinted at by biographers, about this chancery suit have not been to the credit of Burke.

It is now admitted that William Burke was the foremost man among the Burkes—was the first that rose to a position of some political importance. He was the great friend of Lord Verney, by whose influence he was returned to the House of Commons. It was on the representation of William Burke that Edmund got the appointment of private secretary to Lord Rockingham, as Edmund, we are now told, "more than once said"; and it was by his influence that Lord Verney appointed Edmund member for Wendover. In brief, William and Edmund, and Richard Burke lived together like brothers. That William had any fortune, we know not; but we do know that Edmund and Richard were poor enough—Richard, a clerk in the city, and thinking it a rise in fortune to go out as supercargo; while Edmund was compiling books for a living—*The Annual Register*, for an annual hundred pounds. Suddenly we find that William and Richard, and Lord Verney, and other of their friends were gambling desperately in East India Stock. There is no proof, however, that Edmund was a party concerned; but it is strange if he were not that, at the close of 1768, he was enabled to purchase the estate of Gregories for about 21,000*l*. The explanation as to how Edmund was able to make such a purchase has never been satisfactorily explained, indeed every explanation has been varied so soon as questioned. The last version, however, admits "that some portion [of the money] it is believed came from William Burke." Unfortunately, within a twelvemonth Lord Verney, William Burke, and Edmund's brother Richard, with their friends, were utterly ruined—ruined past recovery. This brings me to the allegations in Lord Verney's Bill, which I have abstracted as follows from the Record Office :—

Earl Verney v. *Burke.*—Bill in Chancery, dated 16th June, 1783, states—

"That on or shortly before the year 1769, the Right Honble. Edmund Burke of Gregories, was and he now is entitled in fee simple to a capital messuage or mansion-house called Gregories, and other messuages, lands, &c., in the county of Bucks, subject to the payment of 6000*l.* due on mortgage; And the said Edmund Burke shortly before, or in the year 1769 had occasion to borrow 6000*l.* for the purpose of paying money due on such mortgage. That shortly before the year 1769 William Burke, Esq., a cousin or other relation represented unto your Orator such occasion of the said Edmund Burke for money, and the said William Burke by himself or by Joseph Hickey of St. Albans Street, Attorney, then concerned for the said Edmund Burke and William Burke or one of them, requested your Orator to lend such sum for such purpose, and the said William Burke did by the authority and direction of the said Edmund Burke, or with his consent, propose that the said estate which was so then in mortgage should be assigned in Trust for your Orator for securing the payment with interest, and that he the said Edmund Burke should execute a Bond. That it was soon afterwards proposed by the said William Burke, or some other Agent of the said Edmund Burke, that your Orator should pay such sum to Messrs. Drummonds to the account of the said Joseph Hickey who, as it was represented to your Orator by the said William Burke, would take care to have a proper assignment of the said mortgage, and procure a Bond from him the said Edmund Burke for payment. That in consequence your Orator's agents —Brymer and Elias Benjamin De la Fontaine, on or about the 14th March, 1769, did pay into the hands of Messrs. Drummond the sum of 6000*l.* to be placed to the account of the said Joseph Hickey, and the said sum was so received by or applied for the use or benefit of the said Edmund Burke very soon after the said month of March, in or towards the discharge of the money then due on the security of such estate. But the said Edmund Burke or any other person never hath assigned the said estate or any part thereof unto your Orator, and that your Orator having occasion for the said sum of

6000*l.* and interest thereof hath at several times, by himself and his agents, applied unto the said Edmund Burke, and requested him to pay the same." [Concludes with Interrogatories, and prays that "your Orator may have full discovery and disclosure of the several matters aforesaid."]

ANSWER, sworn 26 November, 1783:—

"Edmund Burke, &c., saith that he is now and was in or about the month of May, 1769, seized of a capital messuage, &c., called Gregories, and divers others lands, &c., situate in the parishes of Beaconsfield and Penn in the county of Bucks, of the yearly value of 500*l.*, or thereabouts, in the whole. And which capital messuages, lands, &c., were in and before the said year, 1769, and at the time of this Defendant's purchasing the same, subject to the payment of 4465*l.* for principal and interest due and secured by mortgage to Lord Dudley, and a sum of 1096*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* for principal and interest due, and secured by a judgment or judgments to Mr. John Saunders, but not subject to any other mortgages or incumbrances. But how much was due for principal and how much for interest, Defendant doth not now remember nor can set forth. And this Defendant saith, that he was not at any time seized of or entitled to the said estates and premises or any part thereof, nor were or was the same at the time of this Defendant's said purchase thereof subject to the payment of 6000*l.*, or any other large sum of money due on any mortgage or mortgages thereof save as aforesaid. That when he purchased the said estate and premises, which was in the beginning of the year 1769, payment of the whole of the said moneys with which the same were incumbered as aforesaid, was demanded on behalf of the said mortgage and judgment creditors, and the said sums of 4465*l.* and 1096*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* were accordingly paid by or on behalf of this Defendant on or about the 20th or 21st days of February, 1769. And this Defendant saith that he had occasion for a considerable sum of money which he believes, but does not exactly recollect, may have amounted to 6000*l.* in or shortly before the said year 1769, in order to make and accomplish his said purchase. And upon

the voluntary offer of another friend, and not the said Complainant to aid him with the same, he this Defendant, did accept of the said voluntary offer, and did apply the money so offered for the purpose of paying off or discharging the purchase money. And this Defendant further saith, that he does not know nor can form any distinct opinion of what degree of relation (if any) William Burke in the Bill named may stand to this Defendant, but that he does believe that their fathers did sometimes call each other cousins, but has no other occasion to believe that they are of kindred. That he doth not know, but believes it may be true, that at the time in the Bill mentioned Joseph Hickey was employed as attorney to said William Burke. That the said Joseph Hickey was not concerned either as Solicitor, Attorney, or Agent for this Defendant respecting the negotiating the purchase of the said estate, discharging the said mortgage, and judgments, or in any other transaction relating to the said estate or the matters in the said Bill mentioned, or any of them to the best of this Defendant's recollection or belief. That he does not know or believe or ever heard that said William Burke or any one else represented unto the said Complainant this Defendant's said occasion for money, or that the said William Burke by himself, or by the said Joseph Hickey requested the said Complainant to advance and lend the said sum of 6000*l.*, or any other sum of money to this Defendant for any such purpose as in the said Bill mentioned, or for any other purpose. That he denies that the said William Burke or Joseph Hickey were or was employed, or directed, or authorized by this Defendant to solicit or propose that the estate of this Defendant, which was then in mortgage as in the said Bill before mentioned, should be assigned or conveyed. That the said Complainant in or about the months of November or December, 1779, did, when this Defendant was much occupied with business, come to the Defendant's house, and on the Defendant's coming into the room where the Complainant waited, did apologise for calling him from business, and then for the first time, as this Defendant remembers and believes, apply to this Defendant for a settlement, but not of 6000*l.* as in the Bill alleged, or of any such sum; but in a confused and indistinct manner

alleged that money was due and owing to him by this Defendant, but without mentioning the time or occasion, or any ground upon which the said demand was formed. And this Defendant saith he received the said demand with surprise, and to the best of the Defendant's recollection, told the Complainant that he knew nothing about it, and not having time then to talk further on the subject, he never heard more from the Complainant until the 23rd day of July, 1782, when he received a letter from the Complainant making another general demand, but not a demand of 6000*l.* or of any definite sum whatsoever, but mentioning a loose and vague general claim of pecuniary matters unsettled between them; and in the month of Aug. 1782, this Defendant received another letter from the said Complainant on the subject, and alluding to a large demand, but without mentioning any sum, after which this Defendant heard no more of the said demand until about the month of June, 1783, when and since which this Defendant saith the said Complainant and Mr. Harman, his Attorney or Solicitor, have made applications to this Defendant for payment of a sum of 6000*l.* and interest."

It is strange that legal proceedings were not commenced by Lord Verney for so many years after the loan. It may be said that his lordship and William Burke were for many years fighting a hard fight against their joint and separate creditors, as the records in our courts of law and equity abundantly prove—that William Burke went suddenly to India, with letters of introduction from Edmund, to escape from his creditors, and in the hope of there finding a maintenance. It is equally strange, if there were no truth in the story, that Lord Verney should have known the exact requirements of Edmund Burke in 1769, the why and the wherefore, as it appears from Burke's answer, that he did. Strangest of all to my mind, considering the early relations of the parties, the humble tone in which my lord is made to enter into Burke's presence, and Edmund Burke's apparently small acquaintance with William, who is described in his letters about that time as the dearest friend he had on earth, but whose relationship to him, "if any," he did not know.

Here, at any rate, are certain facts which your readers may interpret as they please.—J. R. T. [Mr. Dilke.] *

EDMUND BURKE.—The smallest facts, I assume, may be acceptable if they will throw even a glimmer of light on the mysterious subject of the relationship of the Burkes. It appears from Edmund's reply to Lord Verney's Bill (*antè*, p. 222), that the relationship "if any," between Edmund and William was not known to the former. It might also be inferred from their different fortunes in 1768 and 1769, that they had no money relations; yet the contrary seems to be a reasonable inference; and it can be shown, that such relations continued almost to the filing of Lord Verney's Bill. In proof, the following autographs were sold in July last by Puttick and Simpson :—

"234. Bond to Christopher Hargrave, of Lincoln's Inn, Gent., for the payment of 250*l*., with interest, having the signature of Edmund Burke, of Beaconsfield, Bucks; Richard Burke, of Lincoln's Inn. Witness, Richard Burke, Jun. Dated Sept. 10, 1777."

Such men, to join in a bond for 250*l*., show a great want of money and very little credit; yet the next Lot, in the same sale, was—

"235. Edmund Burke's Bill, wholly in his autograph, to pay William Burke 377*l*. July 11, 1779."

N. & Q. 3 S. i. 326. T. S. F. [Mr. Dilke.]

* EDMUND BURKE AND LORD VERNEY. (3rd S. i. 221.)—If the biographers of Edmund Burke have not exerted themselves to trace his lineage, their excuse is to be found in the feeling which too generally exists, that such matters are unimportant in comparison with a full relation of the more eventful episodes of Burke's eminent career. If such omission be found in the existing lives of Edmund Burke, those who address themselves to the question in a fair and candid manner, and with a view to supply the deficiency, deserve the thanks of all; but those who make such inquiry the vehicle of slander, deserve the reprobation such acts must excite in every honest breast.

Although the columns of this journal may not be in general the proper place for a disquisition of this nature, yet your correspondent J. R. T. has, in his article of the 22nd March, passed the limits of fair inquiry and discussion to such an extent that I, as the representative of the great man whose character is there

sought to be maligned, feel it my duty to come forward, and challenge such grave charges and insinuations.

J. R. T.'s preliminary assertion that, "the stories told, or hinted at by biographers, about this chancery suit have not been to the credit of Burke," is, like some other of his incidental statements, made without any authority whatsoever.

J. R. T. admits that Edmund Burke was never proved to have been mixed up in any gambling transactions, yet says he cannot otherwise account for his ability to purchase the estate. Happily I am able to set at rest all question on this point. Edmund Burke contracted to purchase the estate, mansion, and furniture of Gregories, Beaconsfield, for about 20,000*l*. Of this he paid nearly 6,000*l*. in cash, the remaining 14,000*l*. being raised by two mortgages—one for 10,400*l*., the other for 3,600*l*. During his life the estate was considerably increased in value and extent.

As to the suit itself, it must be apparent that to every specific charge in Lord Verney's Bill, there is a specific denial, full, comprehensive, and somewhat contemptuous in Edmund Burke's answer. If that is not conclusive, as it must be, one may well ask, where is the decree? Doubtless J. R. T. has been diligent in his search, for if hostile to Edmund Burke, with what triumph would he have produced that decree. I think, however, none will be found, for I have carefully searched in the proper office where decrees are lodged; and although there are decrees without number in suits instituted by Lord Verney against different persons, I do not find one in the suit of Lord Verney *v.* Burke. If I am right in this, there is an end of the case. At even this distance of time we see the whole matter clearly before us. Lord Verney's legal advisers, who knew their business at least as well as J. R. T., considered the answer conclusive against the Bill, and wisely forbore to pursue a claim suspicious in itself, and by the solemn oath of Edmund Burke alleged to be untrue.

Strange it is indeed, as J. R. T. says, that Lord Verney should have waited fourteen years before commencing his suit. If, as J. R. T. asserts, Lord Verney was during that time in desperate circumstances, fighting against his creditors, there was the greater reason for the prosecution of his claim. I am far from wishing to make the slightest imputation, but there is certainly more reason in supposing that Lord Verney's necessities originated his claim, than that it was retarded by them.

When the judicial weight of the Bill as against the answer is considered; the latter upon oath, the former not upon oath,—when we observe the absence of a decree, and, not least, the length of time supposed to elapse between the alleged transaction and the suit, can doubt any longer linger in an impartial mind?

Charges which if, as here, unproved, would be libellous with respect to the living, cannot be the less so when they affect the memory of the dead. In the latter case, a generous mind would pause long and think deeply—it would not gather from it a fancied immunity.

So confident do I feel in the perfect purity of my illustrious ancestor, that beyond giving the above facts, I am inclined to treat with scorn these dark attacks upon his memory. Your correspondent writes anonymously, I give my name.

EDMUND HAVILAND-BURKE.

LINCOLN'S INN.

N. & Q. 3 S. i. 374.

From *Notes and Queries*, 8 S. i. 429.

MR. HAVILAND BURKE'S assertions and assumptions as to other people's motives and feelings are irrelevant to the questions at issue. As, however, MR. BURKE writes as one having authority—as "the representative of the great man" Edmund Burke, "my illustrious ancestor"—I must of necessity test the value of his evidence as against the information of other people, even of an anonymous correspondent; for your readers might expect from this relationship some special information of tradition, or of a fact. Let us then consider this question as one of probability.

MR. HAVILAND BURKE'S great grandmother was Edmund Burke's sister. Edmund Burke was born in Dublin, where his father was a practising attorney. His sister was baptised at Castletown Roche, county of Cork; and there brought up by her grandfather. Edmund, whose health was delicate, was for a time at Castletown: not long I infer, as he was taught to read by his mother, and we find him, at eight years of age, at school in Dublin; whence he was removed to Balitore, county of Kildare,* and there remained till he entered Trinity College, Dublin; where he took his degree in 1748, and thence came to the Temple, London; where he had been entered twelve months before, in April 1747. From that time, says Prior, "circumstances tended to keep up little more than an epistolary correspondence between them." I doubt, indeed, if they ever met more than twice during their long remaining lives; and we know, from Burke's own letters, that when she died, in 1790, *he had not seen her for four-and-twenty years.* This lady married a Mr. French, of the county of Galway; and on her death I believe, Miss French, their daughter, was invited to Beaconsfield. She married a Major Haviland, who soon after died in the West Indies. On Edmund Burke's

* It appears from "The Leadbeater Papers," Appendix, VI. 5, that the Burkes—Garrett, Edmund, and Richard, were all entered at Balitore on the same day; "fifth month, 26th day 1741" (26th May, 1741).

death, in 1797, Mrs. Haviland was invited to reside with Burke's widow, and did so until within a short period of the death of Mrs. Burke; who left 5000*l.* to Mrs. Haviland, the rest of her property to her own family—the Nugents; but *the MS. papers of her late husband to Earl Fitzwilliam, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Right Hon. William Elliot.* Some time after Mrs. Haviland's death, her son, then only twenty-two years of age, applied for and obtained license to take the name of Burke. This, the first of the name, died in 1852, while your correspondent was a boy at school. Under these circumstances, I cannot see how MR. HAVILAND BURKE is likely to be better informed as to the early history of Edmund Burke than other people, or than an anonymous correspondent.

I will now proceed to consider what little MR. HAVILAND BURKE does tell us on authority, not on evidence, about the purchase of Gregories. "Happily," he writes, "*I am able to set at rest all question on this point.* Edmund Burke contracted to purchase the estate, mansion, and furniture of Gregories, Beaconsfield, for about 20,000*l.* Of this he paid nearly 6000*l.* in cash: the remaining 14,000*l.* being raised by two mortgages—one for 10,400*l.*, and the other for 8,600*l.*"

This story is clear and circumstantial; but what then is to become of all the friendly biographers, and all the trumpeting about the nobleness and generosity of the Marquis of Rockingham, which has been sounding in the public ear for more than half a century? Dr. Bisset told us that "the whole price was twenty-three thousand pounds." And to meet the public questioning as to how Burke obtained the money, he thus wrote. The best authenticated account, is, "that the Marquis of Rockingham advanced 10,000*l.* *on a simple bond*, never intended to be reclaimed; that Dr. Saunders, of Spring Gardens, advanced 5000*l.* secured on mortgage. It is certain that, at Dr. Saunders's death, a mortgage on Burke's estate was found by the executors for that sum, and that the principal was considerably increased by arrears of interest." Why, the Doctor is as circumstantial as MR. HAVILAND BURKE! And yet both stories cannot be true. "How the remaining 8000*l.*

was procured," the doctor admits he could not explain. Here Sir James Prior comes to our assistance: "A great part [of the purchase money] undoubtedly was his own, the bequest of his elder brother. The remainder was to have been raised upon mortgage; when the Marquis of Rockingham, hearing of his intention, voluntarily offered the loan of the amount required to complete the purchase"; which purchase, he tells us, cost Burke "*above* 20,000*l. increased*"—and this on the authority of Burke's own letters, by his being "obliged to take the seller's collection of pictures and marbles."

Here are contradictions enough; but if MR. HAVILAND BURKE's revelation, made just a century after the purchase, be true, how can it be reconciled with known and proveable facts? Thus Burke swore (*antè*, 3rd S. i. 221,) that, "in order to make and accomplish" this purchase, he had occasion for a considerable sum of money, which he believed was 6,000*l.*, and which he borrowed from a friend who voluntarily offered to lend it to him. Why, if he gave 20,000*l.* for the property—as MR. HAVILAND BURKE asserts—then he wanted twenty thousand to pay for it: for that he borrowed 6,000*l.*, is as certain as anything can be that relates to Burke; and MR. HAVILAND BURKE says that he borrowed 14,000*l.* on mortgage; so that his "illustrious ancestor" bought the property without having a shilling to pay for it—and with a noble mansion on it which, as we are told by the county historian, had "at a little distance the dignity of a Royal residence in miniature, by the similitude to Queen Charlotte's palace, called Buckingham House." I leave the reader to consider whether MR. HAVILAND BURKE has "happily set the question at rest."

Here I would willingly take my leave; but MR. HAVILAND BURKE observes, that J. R. T.'s assertion, that "the stories told, or hinted at, by the biographers about this Chancery suit [with Lord Verney] have not been to the credit of Burke, is like some other of his incidental statements, made *without any authority whatever*."

My attention having been thus drawn to the exact form of expression, I see with regret that it admits of misconstruction. The biographers (Bisset and Prior) are blind eulogists of

Burke, and defend him against all objections or objectors; yet a defence, of necessity, includes some reference to, or hint at, the charges themselves. The only real difference between your correspondent and Mr. HAVILAND BURKE is, or ought to be—Were the public satisfied with Burke's conduct in the trial with Lord Verney? Let us hear what Dr. Bisset says; who, as he was living at the time, is presumptively the best authority:—

"About this period Burke was Defendant in a Chancery suit, in which Lord Verney was Plaintiff. It was alleged by Lord Verney that Burke, his brother, and cousin, had been engaged with him in a stock-jobbing speculation, by which very great loss had been incurred; that Lord Verney was the ostensible man, and had been obliged to make out the engagements; that Edmund Burke, being the only one of the rest who had any property, Verney had applied to him to defray his share of the debt. On refusal, he filed a Bill against him in Chancery claiming Burke as his partner. Burke making affidavit that he was not, the matter was of course concluded in Burke's favour. *A great clamour arose against Burke for clearing himself in this manner;* but a positive oath of a man of character is certainly better evidence than any vague rumour."

This is sufficient for my purpose; but I will add, that Sir James Prior hints at—delicately, but distinctly—"some degree of misrepresentation having prevailed upon the subject." And a contemporary (*Remarks, &c., on the Preface, &c., of Laurence and King,*) says:—

"It has been confidently and repeatedly asserted that the various members of the Burke family had been connected in a stock-jobbing adventure with the late Earl Verney, which was the ruin of that nobleman, though of great advantage to Mr. Burke's connexions."

I shall not, on this occasion, inquire into the truth or probability of these charges; it is sufficient for my present purpose to show that, with reference to this chancery suit, stories were

told or hinted at by the biographers, not to the credit of Burke, that the public were not satisfied with Burke's conduct towards Lord Verney, or with his defence on the Chancery suit, and therefore I desire to know what were the facts.

J. R. T. [Mr. Dilke.]

CLOHIR AND EDMUND BURKE.

From *Notes and Queries*, 8 S. ii. 61.

Dr. Napier, in the Lecture to which you lately drew attention, tells us on the authority of Bishop O'Beirne—as Prior, on the same authority, had told us long since—that every explanation of obscure points in the character of Edmund Burke will redound to his honour. I heartily hope so; but why, then, denounce so fiercely all who ask for explanations?

One of the obscure points, referred to by your correspondent, related to the title of the Burkes to the little property of Clohir or Clogher. The question was not first raised by your correspondent; not raised after Burke's death; not when, as Dr. Napier tells us, Burke was "bearded and bullied" by "a faction" led on by Charles Fox; but as early at least as 1773, when he was foremost man in the opposition; not by an English Whig, but by an Irish Tory, afterwards M.P.—the doctor should remember these distinctions—and it was revived years after by another Irishman, General Sir G. Cockburn, whose explanation was seriously damaging to Burke's character.

It is not necessary to quote *in extenso* the statement of Sir G. Cockburn, as it was given by your correspondent (*antè*, 3rd S. i. 161). In substance it amounts to this—that to elude the persecuting rigor of the penal laws, a Roman Catholic family made over their estate in trust to Garret Burke; that Garret Burke, availing himself of their confidence, claimed and held the estate as his own, and bequeathed it to his brother Edmund; and he gives the names of the solicitor who was employed to recover it from Edmund, and who, finding the rigid letter of the law against the claim, appealed to Edmund's humanity, but without success.

Dr. Napier thus explains the matter from, as we understand, the Records in the Court of Exchequer:—

"Clogher," he says, "had been leased by Lord Doneraile to Edmund and Edward Nagle, for a term of thirty-one years, ending about the 1st of May, 1762. He further demised the same lands to Charles Butler, a Protestant, for the term of 999 years, to commence from the 1st of May, 1762. The Nagles were Roman Catholics, and as the law then stood, they could not acquire a greater interest than for 31 years. Before the month of July, 1757, John Reade took the usual proceeding of what was called a Protestant discoverer, by filing a Bill in the Equity Exchequer, in which he stated the making the lease to Butler, and that Butler had executed a declaration of trust to Edward and Edmund Nagle. A decree was made in favour of Reade, who then became entitled to the leasehold interest. It is, however, more than probable, that all this was contrivance the more effectively to evade the operation of the odious and oppressive laws; that Reade was a friendly party, and was put forward in order to prevent any selfish member of the family, under the title of his conformity to Protestanism, from proceeding to appropriate the whole of the property, in which he could in justice have but a limited interest. In the leasehold, each of the next of kin might have a distributive share. The Nagle family had applied to Garret Burke to become the leaseholder, and on their solicitation, and on an arrangement with them, he consented. It is likely that in this way, Reade's name had been used as a formal plaintiff, for on the 2nd July, 1767, Reade conveyed all the interest he acquired under the decree to Garret Burke."

The doctor continues to argue after this fashion through many pages, and to illustrate with speculations about friendly suits and formal plaintiffs, presumed solicitations, and imagined engagements, all, as it appears to me, tending to prove the truth of General Cockburn's statement, that Garret Burke held the property in trust; that all the forms of transfer from Butler to Reade, from Reade to Garret Burke, were "contrivances . . . to evade the operation of the odious and oppressive laws,"

and therefore that Garret could only have bequeathed it to Edmund, and Edmund could only have retained it, in continuation of the trust. So far, then, as relates to the title of the Burkes, the General and the Doctor do not differ; the one briefly asserting what the other elaborately proves by argument and by facts from the Records. But here they separate, and here arises the moral issue. The General tells us, that though the Burkes held this property in trust, they appropriated it to their own use, which the Doctor denies and denounces with unbecoming violence, and assumes "some family arrangement," "whatever it was"! which the Burkes have never been shown to have "departed from." Now, considering the ignorance of the General—the ignorance of the public, including the Doctor, of this "whatever it was" agreement, how could it be shown? Inferentially, indeed, a light is thrown on the subject by a passage which, strange to say, appears, not in the Lecture, but in an Appendix!—

"As to the Clogher property, I have with the help of Sir Bernard Burke, ascertained that on the 1st July, 1790, it was conveyed by Edmund Burke to Edmund Nagle, who paid him 3000*l.* for it, and afterwards sold it for more. It is now obvious that Garret Burke had advanced this amount when he got the title. The old method of lease and loan is familiar to Irish lawyers. The bill of discovery and decree was used to secure his title at the time. The property had originally belonged to the Nagles, but they had parted with it for value to Lord Doneraile. At the time of the making of the lease for 999 years, Lord Doneraile was owner in fee."

What, because Edmund sold the property for 3000*l.*, is it therefore "obvious" that his brother had given 3000*l.* for it? "obvious" that, because he sold it, his brother must have bought it? Dr. Napier has shown by many pages of argument, illustration, and fact, that, Garret Burke held the Clohir property in trust; and does he mean that "the old method of lease and loan," or any other method, enabled a man, *with honour*, to convert property which he held in trust, to his own

use? The only thing "obvious" to me is, that if the note in the Appendix be true, it confirms the statement of General Cockburn, and that the Doctor, the moment he received the information, ought to have suppressed the Lecture.

What better success he has had with the Beaconsfield purchase, I will consider hereafter.

J. R. T. [Mr. Dilke.]

BURKE AND BEACONSFIELD.

From *Notes and Queries*, 3 S. ii. 81.

The only other vexed question as to Burke's moral conduct which Dr. Napier has attempted to elucidate, relates to the purchase of, and the establishment at, Beaconsfield. Burke came to London as a student at the Temple, on an allowance of 100*l.* a-year from his father. After some time, not exactly known, he abandoned the idea of going to the Bar, and married Miss Nugent. For one or other of these causes, or for some unknown cause, his father withdrew the allowance, and Burke, we are told, "adopted the all-honourable course of relieving the lightness of his purse by the powers of his brain," which means that he resolved to live by literature, and we had evidence of this when he undertook the drudging labour of writing and compiling the *Annual Register* for an annual 100*l.* About 1761 he obtained the appointment of Secretary to Mr. Hamilton, which he retained up to 1764 at a salary, it is understood, of 300*l.* a-year. In 1765 the Rockingham party came into office, and it was Burke's good fortune, "being then," to use his own words, "in a very private station, unknowing and unknown . . . by the intervention of a common friend," William Burke, as Edmund more than once said, "to be appointed private Secretary to the Marquis; and by an arrangement with Lord Verney, for which, as he also said, he was indebted to William Burke, he came into Parliament. The Secretaryship was "a situation of little rank and no consequence," and the Rockingham ministry lasted little more

than a twelvemonth; but the seat in Parliament gave him a position which enabled him to make manifest his great talent. So far, then, as evidence can help us to a conclusion, we found Burke a poor struggling man up to 1765, when he had the good fortune to obtain the Secretaryship, and we leave him a poor man in 1766, when he lost office; for though the secretary's place may, as he said, have given him "opportunities near enough to see as well as others what was going on," it is not to be believed that the secretary's salary would have left any very large balance, after defraying the expenses of a man with a wife and two children. Yet within a period not to be calculated by years but by months—in April, 1768—Burke purchased Beaconsfield, giving for it 22,823*l.*!

This startling change in Burke's fortune gave rise to many unpleasant comments—to what, as I suppose, the Doctor calls "sneering at his honest poverty"; his "honourable efforts" to "gain a position." It had been long suspected that "the Burkes," as they were called, and their friends, were great gamblers in East India Stock, and these suspicions were terribly confirmed in May, 1769, when Lord Verney, William Burke, Richard Burke, Edmund's brother, Lauchlan Maclean, and other of his friends were declared defaulters to an incredible amount. There is no proof that Edmund had been engaged with them, though Lord Verney afterwards asserted it, and the public inquired how, if it were not so, did he become possessed, in such a moment of time, of the money with which he had bought Beaconsfield, and kept up that costly establishment.

At first the public were told that Lord Verney had given Burke 20,000*l.*; then that Lord Rockingham had advanced the entire amount; then Mr. Prior informed us that "a considerable part, *undoubtedly*, was Burke's own money, the bequest of his father and elder brother," the "remainder" only being a loan from the Marquis. This statement was, however, somewhat qualified in the last edition, where we read that "a part *undoubtedly* was his own, the bequest of his elder brother, and some portion, it is believed, came from William Burke," and "the remainder" from the Marquis.

Neither of these statements, both "undoubted," though contradictory, were satisfactory. Burke's "own property," assuming that he had nothing to do with the stock-jobbing, could not, to judge by his antecedents, have been much; the bequest from his father is given up; the Clohir estate, the bequest of his elder brother, will not help us, for it was not sold for more than twenty years after—in 1790—and any assistance received from William Burke must, in honour and conscience, have been repaid within a twelvemonth; so that we remain pretty much as at starting,—if the Marquis paid the "remainder," he must have paid the whole.

We come now to Dr. Napier's version, and whether satisfactory or not, we are equally obliged for the trouble he has taken to help us to information. It appears, he tells us, from title-deeds and documents in Chancery—that "there were encumbrances on and charges on the property, which were paid off by Burke in the month of February, 1769, amounting to the sum of 6,638*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* There was a further sum of 10,400*l.* advanced to Burke in mortgage, by Caroline Williams, and 3,600*l.* advanced, on another mortgage, by Admiral Sir Charles Saunders. These two mortgages remained outstanding until the sale of the property by Mrs. Burke, in 1812, when they were paid off out of the purchase-money. The furniture and effects in the house were valued at 2,823*l.* 8*s.* Not long before this, Garret Burke had left Edmund almost the whole of his property—his house and effects in Dublin, his mortgages, judgments, and all costs due to him from clients, and made him his sole executor and residuary legatee. Garret was a bachelor, and had succeeded early to his father's business; was his executor and residuary, and was very successful himself in his profession. It is obvious, therefore, that the property which Garret had left to Edmund, and which probably had been realised in cash just about this time, enabled him, with an advance which he got from Lord Rockingham, and with the two mortgages, to complete his purchase."

Dr. Napier appears to have forgotten that Burke declared, in his answer to Lord Verney's Bill (see *antè*, 3rd S. i. 221) that, "in order to make and accomplish his purchase" he

borrowed 6,000*l.* of a friend. The case then, as to the purchase, stands thus—Burke gave 20,000*l.* for the estate, and borrowed 20,000*l.* to pay for it; and it required all "his own property," and "the whole" of the properties so elaborately enumerated by the Doctor, as "probably realised in cash about this time"—we omit the "some portion" which, it has been said, "came from William Burke"—it required all these to enable him to pay for "the furniture and effects."

Burke had now by what Dr. Napier calls "honourable efforts," gained "a position." How was he to maintain it? So far as appears from the biographers, Burke had no fixed income except a possible hundred or two hundred a year from Clohir. Yet this "position" involved an expenditure of from 3,000*l.* to 3,500*l.* a year! This appears from Burke's statement to Mr. Pitt, when the "arrangement," as he calls it, was concluded about his pensions. "My first object," Burke avowed, "is the payment of my debts." . . . . "I know this object enters into your plan. I am to say that these debts were stated, by my son, below their real amount." The "plan" agreed on was a pension of 1,200*l.* out of the Civil List, for his own and Mrs. Burke's life, and another of 2,500*l.* a year by vote of Parliament, which, however, Pitt did not bring under the notice of Parliament, but made payable out of the West India four and-a-half per cents. It was further understood that the Civil List pension was to be sold by Burke for "present repose," that is, for the payment of his debts, and it was, at his request, antedated for the better accomplishing that purpose; and then said Burke, if the grant from Parliament be "twenty-five hundred clear," it will be enough for "our personal ease"—"sufficient, without obliging us, late in life, to change its whole scheme, which whether wise or justifiable or not, is now habitual to us."—Stanhope, *Life of Pitt*, ii. 250.

It here appears that, after he had retired from Parliament, and no longer required a sessional residence in London, after the death of his only son, Burke could not live at Beaconsfield under 2,500*l.* a year "clear"; and if we add another thousand

for the expenses of his parliamentary and London life, it is below probability.

Whether under the circumstances stated, "honest poverty" was "justified or not" in buying such an estate, and entering on such a "scheme" of life, I leave to the judgment of others.

J. R. T. [Mr. Dilke.]

INDEX TO MEMOIR

Chiefly of Names of Persons mentioned.

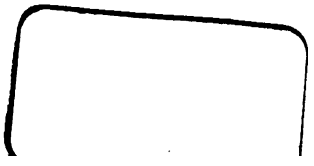
	PAGE
M. D'Abbadie	24 *et al.*
M. About	49
M. d'Acunha	34
Sir A. Agnew	40
The Agricultural Gazette	47
Alice Holt	84
King Amadéo	33
America	34
M. Arago	36
The Athenæum	24 *et al.*
Mr. Atherstone	30 *et al.*
Mrs. Austin	24 *et al.*
M. de Balzac	31
"Barry Cornwall" (*see* B. W. Procter).	
Sir H. de la Beche	71
M. Bergenroth	71
William Blake	51
Lady Blessington	24 *et al.*
Mr. Blewitt	79
Boileau	16
Mr. Bonomi	71
The Bookseller	85
Dr. Bowerbank	71
Sir John Bowring	16
Bradbury and Evans	61
Lord President Bradshaw	75
Mr. Braham	31
Sir David Brewster	71
Mr. Bright	66
Bristol	75
Mr. Britton, F.S.A.	43
Mrs. Broderip	2
Mrs. Mary Brotherton	71
Mr. Charles Brown	2 *et al.*
Mr. Robert Browning	24
Mrs. (Elizabeth Barrett) Browning	24
Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A.	71 *et al.*
Sir Edward Bulwer (Lord Lytton)	19
Burke	80
Burns	5
Mrs. Busk	71
Lord Byron	16
Don Carlos	33
Mr. Carruthers	83
The Caryll Papers	77
Cawley, "the Regicide"	75
M. Philarète-Chasles	49
Chaucer	18
Chichester	1 *et al.*
Mr. H. F. Chorley	24 *et al*
Mr. John Chorley	71
The Duke of Clarence (King William IV.)	14
Mr. Cobden	24 *et al.*
Mr. Colburn	40 *et al.*
Colburn's New Monthly	15 *et al.*
Mr. Henry Cole	71
Coleridge	32
Mr. Hartley Coleridge	16
Mr. Payne Collier	71
Professor Conington	71
"Contarini Fleming"	28
Miss Corbaux	71
Lady Cork	50
Bolton Corney	71
Mr. Costello	71
Miss Costello	71

	PAGE
M. V. Cousin	35
Mr. Croker	78
Mr. Crowe	62
Mr. Allan Cunningham	16 *et al.*
Mr. Peter Cunningham	71 *et al.*
The Daily News	61 *et al.*
Mr. Charles Dance	31 *et al.*
Mr. George Darley	16 *et al.*
Dr. Daubeny	71
Dr. Davidson	71
Professor De Morgan	51 *et al.*
Mr. Deutsch	71
Dibdin	51
Mr. Charles Dickens	24 *et al.*
Mr. C. W. Dilke (born 1742)	1
Mr. C. W. Dilke (born 1789)—*passim*	1
Sir C. W. Dilke (born 1810)	13 *et al.*
Sir C. W. Dilke (born 1843)	84
Mr. W. Dilke	2 *et al.*
Mr. Hepworth Dixon	53
Mr. Sydney Dobell	71
Dr. Donaldson	71
Dr. Doran	71
Dupin	36
Sir John Easthope	35
Sir Charles Eastlake	51
The Edinburgh Review	35
The Elizabethan Age	42
Sir Henry Ellis	80
Mr. Elwin	72
Professor Faraday	71
M. Faucher	35
Mr. Foley, R.A.	84
Professor Forbes	71
Mr. Ford	71
Mr. John Forster	24 *et al.*
Mr. John Francis	73
Fraser's Magazine	24
Herr Freiligrath	71
Fuseli	51
Galignani	15
The Gardeners' Chronicle	47
Mrs. Gaskell	71
Professor Gassiott	71
The Gem	23
The German People	23
Gibbon	7
Gifford	1
Gillray	34
Mr. Goodlake	56
Sir Alexander Gordon	35
Mrs. Gore	34
Mr. Graham (Master of the Mint)	71
Professor Gray	71
The Grenville Papers	80
Jacob Grimm	9
Mr. Hall	26
Sir William Hamilton	71
Mr. Julius Hare	16
Mr. Haydon, R.A.	50
Mr. Hazlitt	6 *et al.*
Heine	24
Mrs. Hemans	24
Professor Henslow	71
M. Heraud	71
Sir John Herschel	71
Mr. T. K. Hervey	53
M. Barthelémy St. Hilaire	36
Sir Rowland Hill	55
Hogg (the Ettrick Shepherd)	26
Mr. James Holmes	24
Hood	2 *et al.*
Mr. (Tom) Hood, Jun.	55
Theodore Hook	22
Sir William Hooker	71
Queen Hortense	36
Lord Houghton	2 *et al.*
Household Words	79
Mary Howitt	24
William Howitt	24 *et al.*
Victor Hugo	38
Humboldt	35
Leigh Hunt	2 *et al.*
Mrs. Jameson	71
Jules Janin	24 *et al.*
Lord Jeffrey	35
Mr. Jerdan	45
Douglas Jerrold	24

	PAGE
Miss Jewsbury	24
Ben Jonson	41 *et al.*
Journal of the Society of Arts	85
Professor Jukes	71
"Junius"	73 *et al.*
Miss Kavanagh	71
Keats	2 *et al.*
Count Kielmansegge	56
Baron Kirkup	19
Paul de Kock	44
Lamb	16 *et al.*
Miss Landon (L. E. L.)	24 *et al.*
Walter Savage Landor	19 *et al.*
Sir Edwin Landseer	34
J. Landseer	34
Dr. Lankester	71
Dr. Lardner	69
Professor Lindley	47
The Literary Fund	43
The Literary Gazette	45
Sir Charles Lyell	71
Lord Lytton (*see* Sir Edward Bulwer).	
Mr. Maclise, R.A.	84
Miss Martineau	35
Thomas Miller (the poet)	30
Monckton Milnes (*see* Lord Houghton).	
Miss Mitford	24 *et al.*
Lady Mary Wortley Montagu	80
Don Montésinos	33
Robert Montgomery	28 *et al.*
Tom Moore	31 *et al.*
Sir Charles Morgan	26
Sydney, Lady Morgan	16 *et al.*
The Morning Herald	62
The Morning Post	62
The Morning Chronicle	62
Moscheles	24
Mr. John Murray, Sen.	16
Mr. John Murray, Jun.	82
Louis Napoleon	35
Lord Nelson	58
Sir Isaac Newton	18
Sir Harris Nicolas	71
Mr. Baptist Noel	66
The North Briton	82
Notes and Queries	54 *et al.*
Mr. Feargus O'Connor	68
The Duchess of Orleans	36
The Pall Mall Gazette	87
Mr. Panizzi	76
Mr. Joseph Parkes	72 *et al.*
Sir Joseph Paxton	47
"Peter Pindar"	90
Madame Pisaroni	17
Plautus	21 *et al.*
Pliny	21
Poole ("Paul Pry")	16
Pope	80
Mr. Bryan Waller Procter	10 *et al.*
Mrs. Procter	24
The Publisher's Circular	85
The Quarterly Review	35 *et al.*
Quetelet	24
De Quincy	16 *et al.*
Mr. W. F. Rae	80
Von Raumur	35
The Retrospective Review	16
John Hamilton Reynolds	2 *et al.*
Mr. Rice	6 *et al.*
Mr. Roebuck	67
William Roscoe	26
Lord Russell	15
Sainte-Beuve	24
The Saturday Review	87
Savage	71
Scheffer	36
Scott	52
The Seaforth-Mackenzie Papers	85
Professor Sedgwick	71
Dr. Séoane	33
Mr. Severn	11 *et al.*
Shakespear	2 *et al.*
Shelley	11

	PAGE
Horace Smith	16
Dr. William Smith	71
Southey	16
Steele	87
The Stuart Papers	33
Eugène Sue	43
Swift	80
Talfourd	16
Mr. Taylor (the bookseller)	14
Dr. Cooke-Taylor	31
Sir Henry Taylor	35
Lord Temple	82
Thackeray	24
Mr. W. M. Thomas	83
Mr. W. J. Thoms	54
Tichborne Case	82
The Times	62
Mr. Tooke	46
Mr. Trelawny	19
Mrs. Trollope	41
Mr. Twisleton	81
Professor Venables	71
Venice	17
M. de Vigny	35
Virgil	22
Sir Joshua Walmsley	61
Sir Francis Walsingham	1
Mr. Alaric Watts	49
Sir Peter Wentworth, M.P. (fl. c. 1570)	1
Sir Peter Wentworth, K.B., M.P. (fl. c. 1630)	1
Mr. Wentworth Dilke-Wentworth	1
Mr. Westmacott, R.A.	84
Sir Charles Wheatstone	71
Mr. James Wild	71
Wilkes	80
Wilkie	28
Mr. F. Wilkin	19
King William IV. (*see* Duke of Clarence).	
Mr. N. P. Willis	24 *et al.*
Mr. W. H. Wills	64
Mr. George Wilson	66
Cardinal Wiseman	50
Mr. Woodfall	19
Miss Woodfall	91
Wordsworth	35
Sir M. Digby Wyatt	71

THE END.

BRADBURY, AGNEW, & CO., PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

Rcpd HM W.C. 10.3.47